







# ETHNIC SETTLEMENTS IN ANCIENT INDIA

(A study on the Puranic Lists of the Peoples of Bharatavarsha)

## PART I—NORTHERN INDIA

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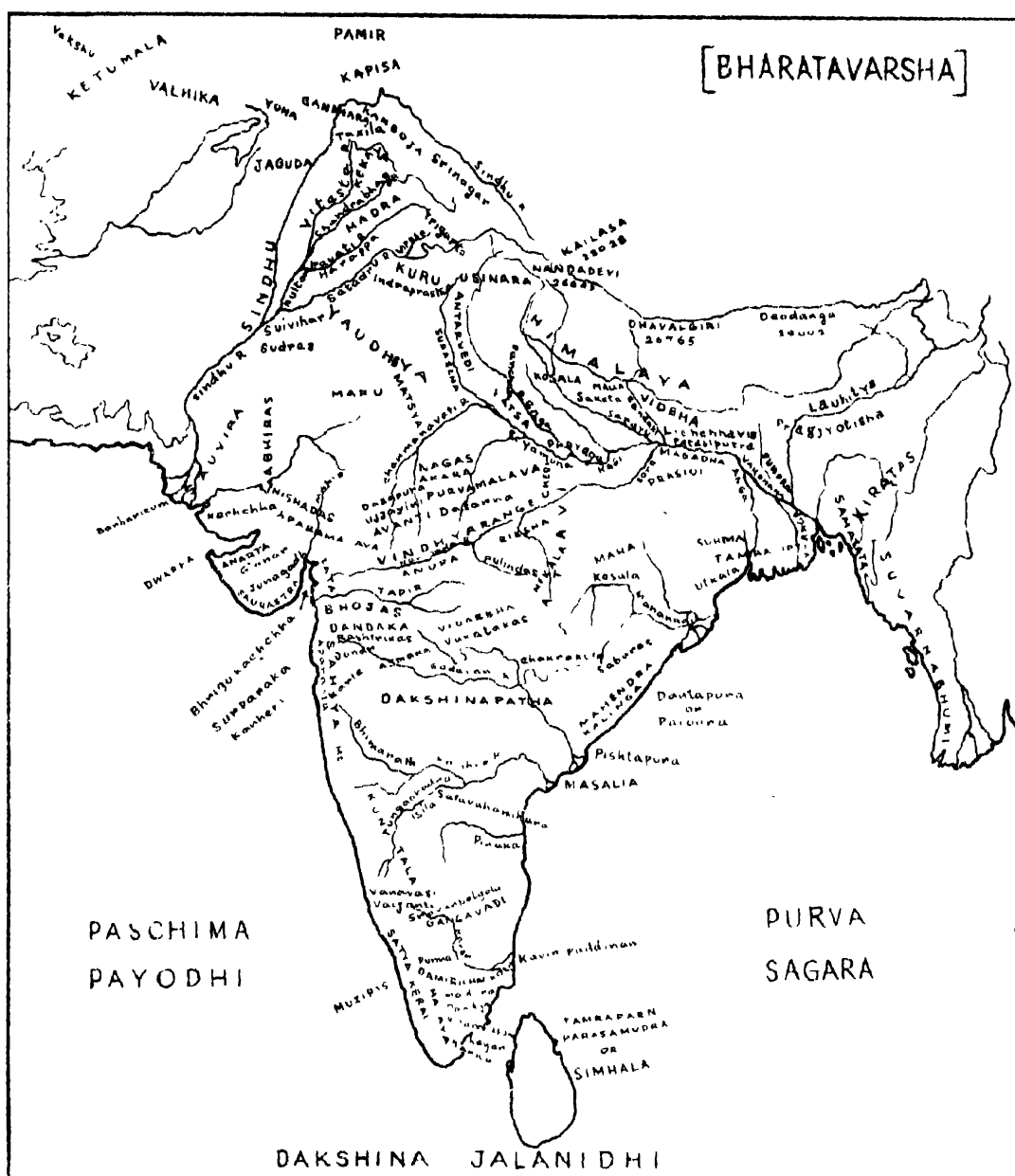
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**TO  
MY  
FATHER**







## PREFACE

The present work which forms a part of the thesis completed by the author as early as 1946 could not be published so long for unavoidable reasons.

The author is deeply indebted to Dr. R. C. Majumdar who guided him in his work and inspired him with all possible help including the Foreword which introduces the book. He is grateful to Dr. H. C. Ray Chaudhuri for valuable instructions in putting the work to shape. His acknowledgements are also due to Dr. Nihar Ranjan Roy for the kind interest he has taken throughout the whole production of the book.

Much as the author would have liked to make the work free from errors, it could not be done : misprints of diacritical marks and other mistakes still remain. The kind attention of readers is invited to the Index where a standard form of ancient geographical expressions referred to in the work has been offered.

The author takes this opportunity to acknowledge with thanks the financial assistance received from the Government of West Bengal towards the publication of the book. He is also thankful to Sri Suresh Chandra Das, the Managing Director, General Printers and Publishers Ltd. for the generous offer of bearing a considerable portion of the publication expense.

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S. B. C.



## FOREWORD

It is a well-known fact that the ancient Hindus did not write the history of their own country. But their literature contains valuable data for a study of this subject. Among these may be mentioned the list of tribes and peoples which we find in the Epics and the Purāṇas. A critical study of these data is bound to throw important light on the distribution of peoples in ancient India as well as their movements. Such a study also forms the real basis of the historical geography of ancient India, as the geographical names of large areas were mostly derived from those of the ethnic groups who occupied them.

The importance of this line of study was realised at an early stage of the progress of Indology, and several European scholars dealt with the subject. But such study was mostly confined to the data furnished by individual texts. The need of collaborating such data from all available texts has long been felt, but the subject has not engaged the serious attention of scholars.

Dr. S. B. Chaudhuri has boldly attempted the task in the following pages which earned him a Doctor's Degree. They reveal an elaborate study of scattered material carried out with thoroughness and a high degree of critical ability. He has studied the ethnic settlements referred to in the literary and epigraphical sources, in their proper geographical setting, and tried to reconstruct the historical geography of ancient India in one of its most important aspects. He has made a critical scrutiny of the various forms in which the names appear in different texts and tried to restore the correct and original designation as far as possible. As the author has himself stated, his first aim was to present a corrected and revised list of ethnic and geographical names of the different regions of India as furnished by tradition. He has next attempted to find out how far these names can



be regarded as authentic, or, in other words, whether peoples bearing those names actually resided, at any time, in the regions indicated in the literary texts, though many of them went out of use in later periods.

The author deserves credit for his general survey of the peoples of ancient India in relation to their activities, habitats and geographical environment. In the concluding chapter the author has sketched in outline the ever changing and widening course of geography suggested by the materials collected in the preceding chapters. This is an important study, on a somewhat novel line, and is sure to be developed with the progress of our knowledge.

On the whole the book throws very valuable light on an obscure branch of ancient Indian history, and will, I hope, commend itself to all serious students of Indian history.

R. C. MAJUMDAR.

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## LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS

Abhidhāna	Abhidhāna-cintāmaṇi of Hemacandra, ed. by Hargovindas, Vidya-Vijaya Press, Bhavnagar, Veer Era 2441, published by Nathalal Vakil.
ABORI	Annals of the Bhandarkar Oriental Research Institute.
AI	Aiberum's India ed. by Dr. Edward C. Sachau, London, Kegan Paul, 1910
AIA	Am-i-Akbari by Abul Fazl, Translated by Colonel H. S. Jarret, published by Asiatic Society of Bengal, Calcutta 1891.
AHIT	Ancient Indian Historical Tradition by F. E. Pargiter, Oxford University Press, 1922.
AMKLP	Āṣṭa-maṅjuśū-mūlakaḥpa. Trivandrum Sanskrit Series, ed. by MM. T. Ganapati Sastri, 1920.
AR	Archaeological Survey of India, Annual Report
AS	Arthaśāstra of Kautilya, Trans. by Dr. R. Shamasastry, 1929, Third Edn. Mysore.
BH	Life of Hiuen Tsang by S. Beal.
BR	Buddhist Records of the Western World by S. Beal, 1884
CAGI	Cunningham's Ancient Geography of India, ed. by S. N. Mazumdar, 1924.
CCAI	Catalogue of the Coins of Ancient India, by John Allan, London, 1936.
CH	Cambridge History of India (Vol. I). ॐ
CI	Corpus Inscriptionum Indicarum.
CJ	The Jātaka, ed. by Prof. E. B. Cowell, Cambridge University Press, 1895.
CL	Carmichael Lectures, by Dr. D. R. Bhandarkar, 1918.
DD	Geographical Dictionary of Ancient and Mediæval India, by N. L. De. Luzac, 1927
DHNI	The Dynastic History of Northern India, by Dr. H. C. Roy, Calcutta University Press, 1931.
DKDI	Die Kosmographie der Inder, Von Dr. W. Kiepert, Leipzig, 1920.
DCBH	The History of Bengal, Vol. I, Hindu Period, ed. by Dr. R. C. Majumdar, published by the University of Dacca, 1943
EHI	Smith, Early History of India. (1924)
EI	Epigraphia Indica
FIB	Etude Sur L'Iconographie Bouddhique de L'Inde Par A. Foucher, Paris, 1900
GDRD	The Geographical data of the Raghuvamśa and Daśakumāracarita, by Mark Collis, Leipzig, 1907
Glossary	A Glossary of the Tribes and Castes of the Punjab and North-West Frontier Province, 'Civil and Military Gazette Press,' Lahore, 1914.
HAIB	Historical Aspects of the Inscriptions of Bengal, by Dr. B. C. Sen, Calcutta University, 1943.
HV	Harivamśa, Baṅgavāsi edition
IA	Indian Antiquary.
IC	Indian Culture.
IG	The Imperial Gazetteer of India, New edition, Oxford, Clarendon Press, 1908.

- JAIRS** The Quarterly Journal of the Andhra Historical Research Society.
- JDL** Journal of the Department of Letters, Calcutta University Press.
- KAVYA** Kāvya-mīmāṃsā of Rājasekhara, Gekwad's Oriental Series No. 1, Baroda, 1924.
- KSSR** The Kathā-Sant-Sāgara. Translated by C. H. Tawney, Baptist Mission Press, Calcutta, 1880
- MA** Ancient India as described in classical literature by J. W. McCrindle, 1901.
- Mbh** Mahābhārata (Bangavāsī edn.).
- Mbh(B)** Mahābhārata, ed. by Mahamahopadhyaya Haridas Siddhantabagar, published by the author from 41, Suri Lane, Calcutta
- MI** The Invasion of India by Alexander the Great, by J. W. McCrindle; MDCCCXCIII
- MM** Ancient India as described by Megasthenes and Arrian, by J. W. McCrindle; 1926
- MP** The Mārkaṇḍeya Purāṇa, F. E. Pargiter, Bibliotheca Indica, 1904.
- M. Polo** The Book of Ser Marco Polo, ed. by Cordier, London, John Murray, 1903.
- MT** McCrindle's Ancient India, as described by Ptolemy, ed. by S. N. Mazumdar Sastri, Calcutta, 1927
- NHH** Notes on the History of the Himalaya of the N.W.P., India, by F. T. Atkinson, B.C.S., St. Leonards-on-Sea, 1883
- NHP** A New History of the Indian People, Vol. VI. Edited by Dr. R. C. Majumdar and Dr. A. S. Altekar, 1946
- PHAI** Political History of Ancient India, by H. C. Ray Chaudhuri, 1928.
- RT** Kāliana's Rājataranginī, ed. by M. A. Stein
- RV** Rgveda
- SI** Select Inscriptions bearing on Indian History and Civilization, Vol. I, edited by Dinesh Chandra Sircar, M.A., Ph.D. Published by the University of Calcutta, 1942.
- TAI** Tribes in Ancient India, by B. Malin Churn Law Bhandarkar Oriental Series No. 4. First edition, Poona, 1913
- TKS** Trikāṇḍaśeṣa of Puruṣottamaśeṣa, published by K. Sri Kṛṣṇadas, printed at Venkateswara Press, Bombay, 1916
- VJN** The Vajrayanti of Yādavaprakāśa, ed. by Gustav Oppert, Ph.D., and published for the Madras Sanskrit and Vernacular Text Publication Society, 1893.
- VKS** Kāmasūtram ed. by Pancaṇan Tarkaratna, Baṅgavāsī Press, Calcutta, 1934 B.S.
- YC** On Yuan Chwang by T. Watters, Royal Asiatic Society, 1901.

(Other abbreviations will be readily intelligible)

## INTRODUCTION

Ethnic settlements in ancient India relate to the efforts of human societies and groups at the successive stages of the early civilization of India to mould and adapt the vast country to their use. The Indian sub-continent from the dim past was the home of many miscellaneous stocks of races and peoples who had come in ever-increasing numbers to settle here. Throughout the ancient period this movement of peoples presented a changing panorama—a variety of human groups shaping their destiny in their respective spheres, in a number of characteristic ways. Everywhere in India there was the evidence of man or groups of men who were inscribing themselves on the soil and adjusting themselves to the conditions of physical geography and other factors. This aspect of their activities offers some justification for an attempt to discover the correlations between human societies of India's past and their geographical setting in broad outline, even though the result may be only initial in character.

A detailed treatment of the extremely variable and miscellaneous nature of the geographical conditions of ancient ethnic settlements of India throughout the ages is admittedly a difficult task, as materials are quite inadequate for extending an enquiry into the dim recesses of time, going back even thousands of years before Christ, and though archaeological evidences are quite plenty for the centuries following the Christian era, the picture of an Ethnographic Geography of ancient India at many points of time and in many regions remains obscure. Even so, a fairly good knowledge of the earliest stages of ethnic settlements in ancient India is obtained from ancient literature, and it is possible in this work only to refer to the distributions, not to speak of the activities, of ethnic groups which settled on Indian soil in the centuries before and after the commencement of the Christian era.

The persistence of ethnic features in the geographical system was nowhere more clearly expressed than in ancient India. A good many of the countries of ancient India bore the impress of tribal or ethnic names, for the *Mahābhārata*, the Purāṇas and astronomical works which embody the greater part of ancient Indian geographical texts, and consequently form the chief sources of our subject, represent India as being inhabited by several tribes or peoples who gave their names to the particular regions where they settled. Indeed, this extensive geographical literature gives a remarkably full account

mainly of the tribes inhabiting the various regions of the whole sub-continent. Although no adequate proof is obtainable as to whether so many distinct ethnic groups lived on Indian soil, or whether it was the name of a country that determined the name of the people living there, it is clear that the treatment of such names in ancient Indian geographical tradition is ethnographical in character, though territorial names are by no means few.

In early traditions which are authentic and professedly geographical as in the *Purāṇas*, geographical names occur in the form of tribal or ethnic names, and so, like all early geography, the locality or country was known by the plural of the tribal name. The story of the spread of Aryan culture as recorded in the *Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa* shows that Videha obtained its name from the settlement of the Videgha tribe who were led by their king Māthava when they pushed forward to the east from the Sarasvatī. Regarding another ethnic group a statement of Pāṇini runs to the effect that the word Pañcālāḥ denotes the country or kingdom which the Kṣatriya tribe Pañcāla occupied. In his *Aṣṭādhyāyī*, we read of other country names with the suffix 'Ku', as in Mālāvaka, Rājanyaka, Traigartaka, Vāsātika which shows that countries were called after their peoples, and that the ethnic structure of the population of different areas formed the basis of such names. In other texts, as in the *Jātakas* and in the *Kūmasūtra* of Vātsyāyana the reference is almost invariably to the name of the tribe or people. Even in the accounts of battle array, geographical names are noticed only as ethnic or tribal appellations. Thus being fashioned in this way, ethnic groups are treated as if they were so many viable units of the geographical order of ancient India. This traditional form of treatment of ancient Indian geography which may be called conventional, offers justification for the title of the present work.

The main idea of the ancient writers (as in the *Purāṇas*) in describing India was to furnish a list of peoples and races going under each of the several divisions into which the country was supposed to have been divided from a geographical point of view. The various tribes inhabiting this country, therefore, appear in the *Purāṇic* texts, as belonging to one or other division. This kind of treatment has the merit of being geographical in character, and inasmuch as the different regions of India constituted the underlying structure of this geographical survey, it seems desirable to place the grouping of chapters on a purely regional basis. Emphasis on the regional conception of geo-

graphy is also given in the astronomical texts, as, such an approach had the effect of drawing attention to all the many links uniting physical conditions and human establishments.

This line of study is not particularly a new one and indeed it was a subject that attracted the attention of the earliest of the foreign indologists. That great savant Alberuni was the first to make a catalogue of the divisional lists from a study of the *Brhat-saṁhitā* and the Purāṇas. At the hands of European scholars of the nineteenth century the subject received adequate attention. Kern edited the *Brhat-saṁhitā*. Dr. Burgess suggested that the lists of geographical names contained in the Purāṇas should be prepared "as a means to the better elucidation of the ancient Geography of India," and furnished a list of such names ( IA. XIV. 319ff ). Following his suggestion Fleet prepared the different ethnographical lists based on Kern's work ( IA. XXII. 169 ff ). Later on J. E. Abbott compiled a list of such names from the *Bhāgavata Purāṇa* ( IA. XXIII. 1-6 ). A remarkable contribution was subsequently made by Pargiter in his *Mārkaṇḍeya Purāṇa* where he added notes on the identity of the names occurring in that text. Dr. W. Kirfel has also set forth some of the divisional lists of ethnic and country names as supplied by the Purāṇas and the *Brhat-Saṁhitā*, in his book *Die Kosmographie der Inder*. Yet, the subject remains to be treated in all its bearing. The number and the geographical applications of these territorial divisions and their relative position with regard to the ethnic names have not been investigated, and very little has been done to collate the different lists going under each division, as supplied by different streams of traditions, with a view to ascertaining as far as possible the original form and bearing of each of these tribal names. That essential groundwork has to be prepared by a critical examination of the nature and structure of the lists as contained in the astronomical works and the Purāṇas which taken together represent geographical tradition best. Dr. D. C. Sircar has scrutinised the Purāṇic lists ( IHQ. XXI. 297 ff ), but the text as a whole which he has set up, though plausible enough for a working hypothesis, cannot be regarded as conclusive as it is not corroborated in all its details by other texts.

The absence of a standard work in the field resulted in a tendency to take considerable liberty with all these names by writers on the subject who had utilised the texts, very often without any critical scrutiny according as they supported their proposition



best. The method, technique and the principle of scientific stratification so commendably employed by Pargiter in his *Ancient Indian Historical Tradition* could have been applied with equal success to the domain of 'geographical tradition'. Even Pargiter, so powerful a critic of ancient tradition took the *Mārkaṇḍeya Purāṇa's* list of nations as they are without any scrutiny, and in many cases, as pointed out in this work, found difficulty with names which were unreal. Dr. Kirfel in his work on Indian Cosmography has left the lists (*Die Volker Von Madhyadeśa* etc., DKDI, pp. 70-90) in much the same stage without any critical examination of their source, nature, and structure. As his book is not a work on geography he has not given any note on the identity of names forming the lists. The reading of the names given by him also differs in many cases from the readings shown in the lists of this work, which have been prepared independently of the charts framed by Dr. Kirfel, and on altogether a different plan as will be evident hereafter. Dr. B. C. Law's works on ancient Indian tribes are a highly valuable contribution to the subject, but he too, has not offered any criticism of the geographical texts from which he has selected his list of tribes. Textual corruptions in the reading of names which he seeks to identify have not been adequately scrutinised (cf. TAT, pp. 381-400) in all cases. Moreover, he has pursued his work mainly from the point of view of the tribes of ancient India as they were, without subjecting the treatment to any specific geographical plan. Indeed, the people of Bhāratavaraṣa (*Die Volker Bharata's*, DKDI, p. 70 ff) appear in the Purāṇic lists only in their relevant geographical setting. This indicates that in ancient India the different human groups were regarded as so many essential units of a comprehensive geographical system—ethnography being treated as the handmaid of geography: the facts of human activity and the conditions of physical order are not separately noticed but synthesised into one. So, the geographical plan according to which the tribes were distributed is a very fundamental point which should, in our opinion, constitute the basis of any scientific treatment of ancient tribes. The idea of the present work thus suggested itself and the author's first aim is, therefore, to present a corrected and revised list of ethnic and geographical names of the different regions of India as furnished by tradition.

The next question is to assess and determine the authenticity of these names. It must be acknowledged that there are considerable

limitations in that line. As tradition deals mostly with names which were swept out of use in the historical period of a later age it is fruitless to seek for authentic records to verify such names. Nevertheless, it has been shown that this comprehensive and elaborate plan of dividing India into several regions and supplying in each case a list of names of that particular area, was fairly accurate in view of India's early geographical condition. Trustworthy and relevant evidences from the whole range of ancient literature, Brahmanical and non-Brahmanical, and from the accounts of foreign writers European and Asiatic have been utilised to show the extent of support each of these names finds, in regard to its bearing and identity. And the whole mass of epigraphic evidence in so far as it refers to the geographical location of tribes and corroborates tradition, has been incorporated in this treatise. Notices of ethnic affinities and ethnographical details and other precious items of information have been properly set forth to make the survey complete.

It must, however, be admitted that some of the names are quite familiar to us and original investigations about their antiquity, and geographical background, have already been made by renowned scholars both European and Indian. But books devoted purely to ancient geography are very few and even then the standpoint taken does not meet all requirements. Lassen, V. D. St. Martin, Mc Crindle and others had taken the Greek accounts as the basis of their enquiries. The classic work of Sir Alexander Cunningham and the books of Watters and Beal had, on the other hand, the itinerary of the Chinese travellers as the source and object of study. The correct approach to the subject perhaps lies in making the indigenous accounts the basis of study, and in enquiring how far they agree with the description of the foreign writers. Possibilities of a work on ancient Indian geography on these lines are not inconsiderable and the present work, in spite of its obvious limitations, may supply a ground-work for further study in the field in future. So, in the present state of studies on the subject, a work on ancient Indian geographical tradition about ethnic settlements whose authenticity up to the widest possible extent has been sought to be proved by the testimony of foreign writers and by the evidence of inscriptions, needs offer no justification for its appearance.

But there are considerable difficulties in a work like this. Inscriptions are numerous, and the difficulty is enhanced by the fact that sometimes it appears impossible to reconcile literary evidence which is

mostly traditional by nature with inscriptional evidence which is mainly political, in regard to a particular item of information. Political geography of inscriptions is not infrequently at variance with traditional geography; and if the point of view is 'Traditional' such changes as occur in the boundary of a country and in the habitat of a people owing to political changes as revealed in inscriptions, should be clearly distinguished from the purely conventional import of the name. These items of political geography have been recorded, but mainly, inscriptions have been noticed only in so far as they corroborate tradition. The vast mass of epigraphic evidence regarding the topographical setting of innumerable landgrants, properly speaking, falls within the domain of the writers of dynastic and local history. All these details of a very local interest do not lie within the scope of a work which attempts to deal with the general features of ethnographic geography as whole: the present work is not intended to be a complete survey of political and local geography of every Indian district and town of ancient times. Further, the total number of different categories of names under examination is 280. Obviously, within the limits of the size of the work it has not been possible to repeat the more well-known references bearing on the authenticity and antiquity of these names which would have been otherwise necessary to make the treatment exhaustive. It is to be remembered that it is an ever-widening subject, and new light is continually being thrown on the one or the other name by all lovers of Indian antiquities. Notice has been taken only of those contributions which have been found to be very material in clarifying the geographical location of a tribe.

The following pages, therefore, within the limits due to obvious reasons, aim, so far as is possible within a general survey, at drawing attention to the peoples and races of ancient India in relation to their activities, habitats and geographical environment. The treatment has been selective as the complexities of the historical movements of the peoples of India in the past make it a supremely difficult task to treat even in outline the Ethnographic Geography of ancient India as a whole, in a book of restrained ambition. So, the northern portion of India has been selected for a careful study here in the hope that the settlements of the more famous tribes and the major geographical changes in time and place resulting from their movements may be depicted.

## CHAPTER I

### THE REGIONAL DIVISIONS OF

### ANCIENT INDIA

In the geographical chapters contained in the Purāṇas (*Bhubanakoṣa-varṇanam*, *Nadyādi Varṇanam*, *Bhārata-varṣānu-kīrtanam* etc.), we have the traditional distribution of countries and peoples in several divisions then known to the compilers. The ethnographical lists furnished by the Purāṇas as going under each of the several divisions, refer to the ethnic settlements and geographical conditions of ancient times, and as such constitute the principal source of our subject.

Now, what according to the geographical texts of the Purāṇas was the scheme of the divisions of India? The Purāṇic compilers had a definite and systematic plan of dividing India into seven divisions, and to this effect they record a tradition.<sup>1</sup> This seems to be the most accurate account of the divisions of India from a geographical point of view, and in spite of considerable discrepancy in details, the Purāṇas (which have chapters on geography) generally agree as to the number of the divisions into which India was supposed to have been divided, as the following table will show :

<sup>1</sup> *Tairidam Bhārataṁ Varṣam sapṭakhandam kṛtam purā* (*Brahmāṇḍa-Purāṇa* 34-64) The *Vāyu-Purāṇa* (33-61) also repeats this statement. The *Varāha-Purāṇa* (74-7) says : *Tairidam Bhārataṁ varṣam sapṭadvīpam samānīkītam*.

		1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9
		Central	North	East	South	West	S. E.	N. E.	S. W.	N. W.
Purāṇas	Abbreviated from	Madhyadeśa	Udīcya	Prācya	Dakṣiṇā-patha	Aparānta	Vindhya-vāsin	Parvatā-śrayiṇah		
Brahmāṇḍa	B. D.	18 countries	49 countries	18 countries	28 countries	19 countries (A)	20 countries	12 countries		
Vāyu	Vā.	18 "	49 "	18 "	28 "	19 "	20 "	12 "		
Mataya	Mat.	18 "	30 "	17 "	27 "	7 "	20 "	12 "		
Brahma	Br.	10 "	46 "	19 "	27 "	4 "	20 "	13 "		
Vāmana	Vām.	11 "	54 "	20 "	28 "	18 (B)	20 "	13 "		
Mārkaṇḍeya	Mār.	10 "	47 (C)	19 "	27 "	19 "	20 "	13 "		22 countries (D)

(A) *Aparānta* countries are divided into two parts : 10 under *Aparānta* and 9 under *Samaparānta*

(B) The Vām. designates this division as '*Pāścīma*' and not *Aparānta*. It implies that the *Aparānta* division was the same as the Western Division or *Prācīcya*.

(C) This includes twenty-two names of the '*Uttarapāścīma*' Division which, however, have been found to be names of the Northern Division (See chart No. II, III and Chap. IV).

(D) This list is an instance of textual corruption. On examination it appears that no such division is contemplated and that all the names it puts under '*pāścīmottara*' in reality belong to the Northern Division. See Chap. IV.

The Purāṇas as a rule mention seven divisions but there are exceptions ; for, the *Viṣṇu Purāṇa* (ii. 3, 14ff) hardly mentions more than five divisions and so also does the *Kūrma Purāṇa*<sup>1</sup> (i. 46. 41ff), while the *Garuḍa Purāṇa* (55. 11ff) and the *Mārkaṇḍeya* (57. 35ff) speak of eight divisions.<sup>2</sup> In spite of these discrepancies, it is clear from the table that the division of India into seven parts was the general plan recognised by the Purāṇas. This plan of the Seven Divisions was made with a reference to the six directions and the central part. Thus Madhya-deśa means the Central Division, Udīcyā, the Northern Division, Prācyā, the Eastern Division, Dakṣiṇāpatha, the Southern Division, and Aparānta, the Western Division. Then follows a group of tribal names called '*Vindhyācala*' under which the Purāṇas provide more or less common lists of names, indicating that the *Vindhyācala* group also represented a division. In order to find out the division which it indicated, we are to compare and contrast the geographical list of the *Vindhyācala* group of the Purāṇas with all the lists furnished by the *Brhat-saṃhitā* of Varāhamihira<sup>3</sup>—a work possibly of the sixth century A.D. After a careful examination, many of the names of the *Vindhyācala* group of the Purāṇas are found to occur in the list going under the South-Eastern Division of the *Brhat-saṃhitā*. A corroborating statement viz., *Vindhyāntarṇilayā deśāḥ Pūrvadakṣiṇataḥ smṛtāḥ*, occurs in the *Garuḍa Purāṇa* (55. 13). The last division has been designated as

<sup>1</sup> The language of the *śloka*s concerning these divisions in the two Purāṇas is also the same. It may be conjectured that there was a stereotyped plan of dividing India into five divisions regarding which there existed a common literature.

<sup>2</sup> It will be seen (Ch. IV) that the *Mārkaṇḍeya*'s list of 22 names under the head North-Western (see chart No. III) Division, does in fact refers to the list of the Northern Division (see chart No. II) and hence the *Mārkaṇḍeya* also records the tradition of the Seven Divisions of India.

<sup>3</sup> It may be noticed in this connection that Varāhamihira divides India into Nine Divisions in the *Brhat-saṃhitā* and supplies in case of each division a list of ethnic names which are of extreme importance in the sense that we can utilise them with benefit, whenever we stand in need of corroborating the Purāṇic texts and ascertaining the divisions which the Purāṇas contemplate by their somewhat incomplete and vague titles such as '*Vindhyavāsīn*' and '*Pārvatāśrayīn*.' The lists of the *Brhat-saṃhitā* are evidently correct, for they are supported and corroborated in their details and settings by other sources. The various ethnographical lists of the *Brhat-saṃhitā*, therefore, possess a co-ordinating and corroborating value to the Purāṇic lists. The nine lists used here are framed from Dr. H. Kern's edition of the *Brhat-saṃhitā* (Bibliotheca Indica, Calcutta, 1865): *Brhat-saṃhitāyām Kūrma vibhāgo nāma catuṛdaśo 'dhyāyaka'* (p. 98). Dr. Fleet's list in Ind. Ant., (xxii. 169) has also been consulted. The name *Brhat-saṃhitā* has been abbreviated as 'Brsam'

*Parvatāśrayiṇaḥ* under which all the Purāṇas have supplied more or less a common list of tribal names. And here too, the *Bṛhat-saṃhitā* comes to our help. 'Parvatāśrayiṇ' stood for the North-Eastern Division, as chart No. IV will show, though obviously enough, geographical consistency was not maintained all through in the inclusion of countries and peoples going under this division. There is a plethora of irregularities in the Purāṇic lists and it is only by eliminating the fantastic that the proper set of names can be determined. And in case of a division like the 'North-East,' errors are likely to be more common, for the mountainous people of the whole north can easily get included without any serious detriment to geographical planning. In fact, it will be seen that (see sec. II, ch. V) the home of the peoples and tribes going under the head *Parvatāśrayiṇ* of the Purāṇas and under the North-Eastern Division of the *Bṛhat-saṃhitā*, has to be located mostly in the Northern Division of India rather than in the North-Eastern Frontier. Making allowance for all these considerations, the general feature of this account is that the Purāṇas contemplate a separate division by the designation *Parvatāśrayiṇ* and that this division is the North-Eastern Division according to common tradition but in reality a supplement to the 'North.' Now, it may well be asked as to why the Purāṇic compilers used such vague titles as '*Vindhyaśayin*' and '*Parvatāśrayiṇ*'. The answer is that they probably arose out of an attempt to put all the migratory tribes of the mountains of the north under a convenient nomenclature. At the same time, such a separate designation implying roughly the sense of a region or a division was necessary to fulfil the traditional conception of the seven divisions of India.

Side by side this scheme of dividing India into seven divisions, there was current another tradition of the division of India into nine parts. The very frequent references to such a plan which we come across in geographical treatises of the time, make it impossible to ignore the reliability of this tradition. Thus Varāhamihira the great astronomer whose *Bṛhat-saṃhitā* contains some chapters very valuable for a study of Indian geography, divides India into nine parts : the central one, the eastern etc. :—

*Nakṣatra-traya-vargair āgneyādyair vyavasthitair navadhā/  
bhāratavarṣe madhyāt prāgādi Vībhijitā deśāḥ*<sup>1</sup>//.

Alberuni's description of India into nine parts ( *Navabheda* ) may be quoted : "Astronomers and Astrologers divide the directions according to the lunar

<sup>1</sup> *Bṛhat-saṃhitā* of Varāhamihira, ed. by Dr. H. Kern, Bibliotheca Indica, 1865, p. 87.

stations. (Therefore the country, too, is divided according to the lunar stations, and the figure which represents this division is similar to a tortoise. . . . Varāhamihira calls each of the Navakhaṇḍa a Varga. By them (the Vargas) — Bhāratavarṣa i.e., half of the world, is divided into the nine parts, the central one, the eastern, etc., . . .<sup>1</sup>) This scheme of the nine divisions as outlined by Varāhamihira was also adequately worked out by the nine lists he furnished. There is yet another piece of evidence to support this tradition. Bhāskara-cārya (born 1114 A.D.), another famous astronomer, also divides India into nine parts.<sup>2</sup>

Agreeably enough, the Purāṇas in spite of their enumeration of the seven divisions of India, do not fail to recognise the tradition of the 'Navabheda' of India. While describing Bhāratavarṣa, every Purāṇa records that Bhāratavarṣa is divided into nine parts or bheda, which is supplemented by a scheme of dividing India into nine dvīpas, such as Indra, Kāśeru etc.<sup>3</sup> (The *Viṣṇu Purāṇa*, again, treats a tradition which describes India as being like a lotus flower the central part of which represents Madhyadeśa, the eight surrounding petals being the other divisions.)<sup>4</sup> The third Purāṇic form of dividing India into nine parts is found in the 'Kūrma-Niveśa' section of the *Mārkaṇḍeya-Purāṇa* (Ch. 58). There India is likened to a tortoise, lying with its face to the east. The nine divisions refer to the nine different parts of its body.<sup>5</sup>

This analogy to the body of a tortoise is probably due to the "round borders, the elevated surface and the globular convexity on its surface".<sup>6</sup> A list of ethnic names<sup>7</sup> is also furnished along with each

<sup>1</sup> AI, I 296-7

<sup>2</sup> *Siddhānta-Śiromani*, Ch. III 41 tr. L. Wilkinson, Bib. Ind., Calcutta, 1861, p. 120.

<sup>3</sup> For a detailed treatment see S. B. Chaudhuri—'The Nine dvīpas of Bhāratavarṣa'—in IA. LX 1930 204-208, 224-226, Dr. H. C. Roy Choudhury in JDL, XIX, 15-20—'India in Purāṇic cosmography'.

<sup>4</sup> Wilson, *Viṣṇu Purāṇa*, II, p. 9

<sup>5</sup> *Prāṇmukho bhagavān Devaḥ Kūrmārupivyebasthataḥ*

*Akramya Bhāratam-Varṣam Navabhedamadam dvījah* (Mārka, 58.4). The *Skanda Purāṇa* (VII 11119) also repeats the same śloka.

<sup>6</sup> It should be noted that this is a total misconception of the configuration of India to compare it with the shape of a tortoise "lying outspread and facing eastward". Cf. also the *Kūrma Vāhga* section of the *Bṛhat-saṃhita*. That India was like a lotus flower also betrays the same sense of inaccuracy.

<sup>7</sup> The various lists of the *Mārkaṇḍeya Purāṇa* found in Ch. 57 are lists of country names while the lists supplied with reference to the 'Kūrma Niveśa' plan (ch. 58) are ethnographical lists.



of the divisions.<sup>1</sup> The following diagram representing the divisions of Bhāratavarṣa into nine parts with reference to the tortoise-figure may be exhibited to make the plan readily intelligible.

NE.	East	SE.
<i>AIŚĀNA</i>	<i>PŪVA</i>	<i>ĀGNEYA</i>
Kūrma-	Kūrma-	Kūrma-
Pūrva-	mukha	pūrva-dakṣiṇa-
Uttarapāda		pāda
<i>UDICYA</i>	<i>MADHYA</i>	<i>DAKṢINA</i>
Kūrma-	Kūrma-	Kūrma-
bāmakukṣī	madhya	dakṣimakukṣī
<i>VĀYAVA</i>	<i>APARĀNTA</i>	<i>NAIRITA</i>
Kūrma-	Kūrma-	Kūrmapara-
bāmapāda	puccha	dakṣinapāda

The *Mārkaṇḍeya Purāṇa*, as already noticed, divides India into seven divisions on the basis of directions supplying lists of countries, belonging to each of the divisions<sup>2</sup>, and consequently it follows two plans for describing the divisions of India. The following table makes it clear:—

<sup>1</sup> This scheme of dividing India with reference to the '*Kūrma Niveśa*' plan will be indicated henceforth with the abbreviated form-*Mārka* (*k*).

<sup>2</sup> The divisions enumerated by the *Mārkaṇḍeya* on the basis of the directions are eight in number. But on examination it has been found that the tribes it puts under the NW. Division practically belongs to the Northern Division. In other words, it is only by shortening the list of the names of the Northern Division that a list of the NW. Division has been formulated though the latter is admittedly a portion of the former.

	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9
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Parāṇa	Central	North	East	South	West	SE.	NE.	SW.	NW.
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Mārka; 57. 32 ff. (Seven)	Madhya- dēśa	Udīcya	Prācya	Dakṣiṇā- pātha	Aparānta	Vindhya- vāsin	Parvatāśr- ayila /	X	Pāśāimott- arāḥ
	10	47	19	27	19	20	13		23

Mārka; 58. 6ff. (Nine) Mārka (K).	Kūrma- madhya	Kūrmabā- makukṣi	Kūrmamū- kha	Kūrmada- kṣiṇakukṣi	Kūrmap- uoccha	Kūrmapūr- vadakṣiṇa- pāda	Kūrmapūr- vottarapā- da	Kūrma-apara- dakṣiṇapāda	Kūrmabā- māpāda
	30	47	29	51	28	26	33	25	14

Bṛhat- samhitā; Bṛhat- 14 2ff. (Nine)	Madhya- dēśa	Uttarataḥ	Pūrvasyām	Dakṣiṇa	Aparasyām	Āgneyyām d- īśi	Alānyām	Nairṭyāndi- śīdēśāḥ	Pāśāimott- arasyām
	33	50	33	64	19	28	35	29	21

It is quite evident that the Nine Divisions of the *Mārkaṇḍeya* made according to the '*Kūrma Niveśa* plan', refer to the same nine divisions as are sketched under a different form by Varāhamihira. In comparing each of the lists of the Nine Divisions of *Mārkaṇḍeya* (k), with the corresponding lists of the *Bṛhat-saṃhitā*, it becomes manifestly clear that although there are repetitions and displacements of names, as well as many various misreadings, the *Bṛhat-saṃhitā* and the *Mārka* (k), make out a common text. But the lists of names of the seven divisions furnished with a reference to the directions by the other Purāṇas also agree fairly well with the corresponding lists of countries which the *Mārkaṇḍeya* tabulates under the same plan (ch. 57).

These are the different ideas regarding the Regional Divisions of ancient India. The plan of dividing India into several regions had been a matter of gradual growth, the nucleus of which was to be traced in the Vedas, while the final stage was reached in the Purāṇas and other astronomical works. This plan of the geographical divisions of India based on directions is, however, as early as the time of the *Atharva Veda* (xix. 17. 1-9) where it is vaguely referred to. The *Aitareya Brāhmaṇa* (viii. 14) shows greater acquaintance with this scheme of dividing India into five divisions, which was current in popular use and supplied for many centuries a comprehensive and workable structure of the geographical divisions of India,<sup>1</sup> so much so, that it was adopted partially by the Buddhist writers and fully by authors like Rājaśekhara, and foreign travellers like Hsien Tsang. Into the territorial area of the different regions, other small and minor, ancient and sacred territorial units coalesced and as such ceased to be termed as separate units. Thus Brahmvarta and Brahmarshideśa lost their identity in the Madhya-deśa, and this combined with Prācya, Praticya and Udīcya (Uttarāpatha) became the equivalent of Āryāvarta.<sup>2</sup> Meanwhile, a still greater advance in the geographical knowledge of India and a more thorough acquaintance with the vast magnitude of the country led to a full and comprehensive idea of dividing India into seven parts, which has been outlined in the Purāṇas with a reference to the different directions. The divisions of India contemplated under this scheme, combined with the advanced astronomical knowledge of the time, probably resulted in the more elaborate idea of the Nine Divisions of India. This tradition about the regional divisions has been propounded in different forms, only

<sup>1</sup>For a full treatment of the subject see S. B. Chaudhuri—'Regional Divisions of Ancient India'—in ABORI, XXIX, pp. 123-146.

<sup>2</sup> See S. B. Chaudhuri—'Āryāvarta'—in IHQ. XXV. 1949, June, pp. 110-122.

two of which have been illustrated with names of peoples and countries belonging to each of the nine divisions. These Nine Divisions are variously represented by:—

1. The Nine lunar stations (Astronomical works)
2. The Eight petals and the central part of the lotus flower (*Viṣṇu Purāṇa*)
3. The Nine different parts of the tortoise's body (*Mārkaṇḍeya-Purāṇa*)
4. The Nine Dvīpas (*Purāṇas*).

This shows that four plans were current to interpret the scheme of Nine Divisions of India. Needless to say that the divisions were of a geographical character being based on the points of the compass. The idea of dividing India into nine parts was presumably widely current in popular use, as is hinted by the many plans devised to one and the same end of describing the Nine Divisions of India.<sup>1</sup>

<sup>1</sup> The idea was also familiar to the early Arab geographers. Rashidu-d-din for instance, who probably derived his knowledge from a book called 'Batankal' to which he refers, says that the land of Hind is divided into nine parts. (Elliot and Dowson, *History of India*, I p. 44). But 'Nine', may be, after all, merely a traditional number in the ancient world: "Nine Provinces was an ancient synonym for China proper as much as 'Nau-khanda' with like meaning, was an ancient name of India". (Ibid. 199, fn. 10). For Continental notices on the divisions of India see S. B. Chaudhuri in *Journal of Indian-History*, Vol. XXVII, Pt. III. No. 81. p. 237ff.

## CHAPTER II

### GEOGRAPHICAL DATA EXAMINED

The lists of ancient peoples and countries and of hills, rivers and mountains as contained in the *Purāṇas*, form the chief data of a geographical kind, and the investigation of physical and ethnographic geography must begin with them. They are treated in a divisional setting more or less in all the *Purāṇas* except in the late *Varāha*, *Skanda*, *Linga*, *Nāradya*, *Brahmāvaivarta*, *Agni*, *Bhāgavata* and *Bhaviṣya* which scarcely contain chapters exclusively on Indian geography, and even if they possess any, they are not very useful. The *Padma Purāṇa* furnishes a detailed list of countries and rivers of India, but the list is so confused and the divisional setting of countries has been so grossly mistaken that no useful purpose is likely to be served by an examination of the list. The *Rāmāyaṇa* (Kīṣk, ch. 40) and the *Mahābhārata* (Bhiṣ, ch. 9) also possess similar lists of countries and rivers. The list of the former is not an exhaustive one and the treatment does not follow strictly traditional lines, although enumeration of the countries on a regional basis seems to have been attempted. The *Mahābhārata* list is professedly geographical and exhaustive, but it shows no acquaintance with the respective divisions of India to which the countries belonged<sup>1</sup>. There is another list of countries in the *Mahābhārata* (sabhā, ch. 22 ff.) which, although not a chapter on geography, possesses great value as the countries are described there on a divisional basis. Besides these, full texts bearing on Indian geography are also to be found in Bharata's *Nāṭyaśāstra*<sup>2</sup> and Rājasekhara's *Kāvya-mīmāṃsā* both of which have been tabulated in the charts prepared for the present work. But the geographical details of *Kāvya-mīmāṃsā* and *Nāṭyaśāstra* are in many points quite different from those of the *Purāṇas*, inasmuch as, the latter deal with a greater number of India's divisions and countries.

As pointed out before, the *Brhat-samhitā* of Varāhamihira contains valuable geographical data. The full list of Parāśara as quoted by Utpala, the commentator of *Brhat-samhitā*, has also been

<sup>1</sup> Dr. W. Kirfel has tabulated the list of the *Mahābhārata* and the *Padma Purāṇa* in his DKDI, pp. 77-79: *Die Völkerliste des Padma-Purāṇa und Mahābhārata*.

<sup>2</sup> Grosset's edn. ch. XIV; MM. H. P. Sastri in JASB. 1909, p. 360.

tabulated here<sup>1</sup>. With regard to Parāśara's work, Kern observes : "Interesting for the geography of India is an entire chapter which Varāhamihira, only changing the form but leaving the matter almost intact, has given in the fourteenth chapter of the *Bṛhat-saṃhitā*; therefore we have to consider that chapter as really representing the geography of *Parāśara-tantra* or perhaps yet more ancient works"<sup>2</sup>. According to Cunningham Parāśara flourished not later than the first century after Christ<sup>3</sup>. Other internal indications contained in Parāśara's work similarly point to the early century of the Christian era as the time when he lived to which age Kern assigns Garga, another ancient astronomer, perhaps of the school of Parāśara<sup>4</sup>. Generally, of course, the texts of Parāśara and Varāhamihira agree, but on closer examination it can be safely concluded that the most important and almost the sheet-anchor of Indian geography is the text of the *Bṛhat-saṃhitā* of Varāhamihira.

It may be said that the texts of Varāhamihira and Parāśara taken together are decidedly the best. Their accounts agree fairly well and they have a great part of their versions in common. But the differences in their texts are also many. In almost all these geographical lists coming under the several divisions of India as furnished by Parāśara, there is to be found (except in the list of the central and S. E. divisions) a group of a few names which hardly finds any corroboration in the corresponding list of the *Bṛhat-saṃhitā*, far from being in agreement with those of the Purāṇas. If it is a fact, as Kern observes, that the text of the *Bṛhat-saṃhitā* was borrowed from Parāśara, no reason can be adduced as to why Varāhamihira did not take the entire version of Parāśara in the same order (vide charts), *verbatim*. When compared with other texts it is evident that the text of the *Bṛhat-saṃhitā* has not been distorted and tampered with; the order of narration appears to be strictly traditional and insertion of new names very few. The text of Parāśara presents contrary features; the additional lists of names supplied by Parāśara are evidently late insertions which could not have been incorporated till after a very late age. The lists of Parāśara suffer from other defects also. Sometimes it omits various well known place names whose positions are attested by the *Bṛsam.* and the other lists of its group. The text is also defective in the reading of

<sup>1</sup> The list of Parāśara is taken from the *Bṛhat-saṃhitā* of the Vizianagaram Sanskrit Series, (No. 12), edited with the commentary of Bhaṭṭotpāṇi, by MM. Sudhārkara Dvivedi, Vol. X, pt. I, printed and published by E. J. Lazarus & Co., Benares, 1895, pp. 286-294.

<sup>2</sup> Introduction to *Bṛhat-saṃhitā*, p. 32.

<sup>3</sup> CAGI, p. 167.

<sup>4</sup> Kern, *Bṛhat-saṃhitā*, p. 39-40 (Intro.).

names e.g., in one list (Central division, chart No. 1) it reads Umāraṇya instead of Dharmāraṇya and Lepamāṇḍavyas instead of Māṇḍavyas, and Uttamajyotiṣas instead of Upa-Jyotiṣas. All these suggest that Varāhamihira has not copied *verbatim* from Parāśara : geographical tradition, as embodied in the *Bṛhat-saṃhitā*, perhaps flowed even independently of *Parāśara-tantra*, and was better known than such traditions known to the astronomer and quoted by Utpala, and so invariably the more trustworthy.

The version of the *Mārkaṇḍeya Purāṇa* has got significant peculiarities. It may be considered in three aspects: (i) it has two lists for each of the eight divisions; (ii) its list of ethnic names referring to the different parts of the tortoise's body; (iii) its account of countries formulated with reference to the different directions. Regarding the first part, it may be said that the two accounts are two distinct versions belonging to two different sets of traditions, and seem to have been based on two independent original texts and not on the same text. The occasional coincidence of names in the two lists belonging to the same division is rather a matter of chance than anything else ; on the whole, this impression is left after a careful study that the *Mārkaṇḍeya* has scrupulously preserved two distinct streams of traditions bearing on Indian geography maintaining as far as possible the distinguishing characteristics of both sets. Regarding the second aspect (for which the abbreviation *Mār̥k* (k). will be used), it may be safely said that the account closely resembles the *Bṛhat-saṃhitā* version in all its details and appears either to have been copied from the text of the *Bṛhat-saṃhitā* or based on one common original text. In spite of variations, additions, omissions and condensations of names in this account of the *Mār̥k* (k)., it is clear that the lists of *Bṛsam.* and *Mār̥k* (k). are substantially the same (see chart No. 1)<sup>1</sup>, which justifies the inclusion of the versions of *Mār̥k* (k). into the *Bṛhat-saṃhitā* group. Regarding the third aspect, it is found that the text occurs strictly in the same setting as in the *Brahma Purāṇa*. A glance at the two texts as tabulated in the different charts will make it clear that the *Br.* agrees very closely with the *Mār̥k.*, the same order being observed (see charts of Eastern and Northern divisions) and the same mistakes being committed (see chart of the Central division). And as *Mārkaṇḍeya* is undoubtedly an earlier compilation than the *Brahma*

<sup>1</sup> Pargiter in his translation of the *Mārkaṇḍeya Purāṇa* has not scrutinised the geographical lists in this line. So Dr. W. Kirfel remarks: "*Das Mārkaṇḍeya-p. scheint die Liste der Bṛhat-saṃhitā entnommen zu haben. Dem Übersetzer desselben, F. Eden Pargiter, ist diese Parallele vollständig entgangen*". DKDI, p. 81.

*Purāṇa*, it can be presumed that the Br. framed its lists from the lists of Mārka, as based on different directions.

But what is the source of this list of the Mārka? In fact, it strikes us that the Mārka. and Vā. texts agree closely. Although the *Vāyu* furnishes some new names in the Central and Southern Divisions foreign to the Mārka., in other divisions (see charts) the method and order of narration and even the reading of names of the two texts are perfectly in agreement. In spite of differences in minor details, the inference is irresistible that the seven lists of the *Mārkaṇḍeya* formulated with a reference to the different directions were borrowed from the *Vāyu* text. This is quite clear when we see that the *Mārkaṇḍeya* has not supplied any list in the SW. Division, just in agreement with the *Vāyu* text which also has no list for the division in question; whereas the Mārka (k). provides a list going under that division in accordance with the Brsam. text—a fact which all the more clearly brings out the distinctiveness of the two different sets of geographical traditions which the *Mārkaṇḍeya Purāṇa* has preserved. But as there are some new features in the *Mārkaṇḍeya*, its version may be regarded as a revised version of the *Vāyu*.

So here we can discern that the account of the Mārka (k). bears a close resemblance to the text of the astronomical works, and the account of the Mārka. to the text of the Vā. The two texts are thus two different versions and there is a consistency of treatment between the two texts in that the account of the Mārka (k). does not show any very great acquaintance with the Purāṇic texts in general, in the same way as the account of the *Mārkaṇḍeya* differs from the text of the *Bṛhat-samhitā* and bears no resemblance to it. But whereas the account of the Mārka (k). is not free from errors of omissions, insertions, and variations when compared with the *Bṛhat-samhitā* text, the account of the *Mārkaṇḍeya* follows the Purāṇic versions more or less strictly and usually inserts no single name which cannot be corroborated. This makes the account of *Mārkaṇḍeya* more trustworthy, but on the whole both the accounts of the *Markaṇḍeya* are a valuable and in many points an independent text.

Of all the Purāṇas the best and oldest text of geographical tradition of India is contained in the *Vāyu* and *Brahmaṇḍa*. Although they do not spin out long lists, the seven lists of ethnic names which each of them supplies in regard to the seven divisions, are probably the most genuine records we have. Further, the two texts are substantially the same, which indicates that the two Purāṇas were originally one and the same, as is generally upheld.<sup>1</sup> In view of this

<sup>1</sup> See S. B. Chaudhuri—*Śiva and Vāyu Purāṇas*—in JBORS. XV 183ff.



close similarity, the *Vāyu* version has been tabulated here which thus stands for the Bd. as well. The differences between the two texts are few and far between, and in case of such differences the *Vāyu* version is preferable, for the *Brahmāṇḍa* has sometimes corruptions in its text. The *Vāyu*, for instance, reads Nāsikas while the Bd. alone reads Mainḍikas and further it reads Saulikas instead of Paurikas in the list of the Southern Division. But the two texts combined may be regarded as the oldest that we possess now, and the most valuable too in all matters of traditional geography.

The text of the *Matsya Purāṇa* possesses no independent value and is plainly a repetition of the text of the *Vāyu*. The *Matsya* text has no omissions, variations and embellishments of its own but is only a reproduction of the *Vāyu* text, as will be clear from the charts (see charts of Central, Southern and Eastern divisions). The list of the western tribes and peoples as given in the *Matsya Purāṇa* is slightly irregular, because the *Matsya* has omitted the first twelve names of the *Vāyu* and so the thirteenth name in the list of the latter gets the first place in the list of the *Matsya Purāṇa*. The lists going under the Northern Division furnish no good evidence as all the *Purāṇa* have taken considerable liberty with names in that division. The accounts of the *Matsya Purāṇa* are manifestly of a later date than the *Vāyu* which raises the presumption that the former has been copied from the latter.

It thus follows that the geographical texts of the Vā., Bd., Mār., Mat., and Br. are in agreement with one another subject to some small variations, and that the common source of *Matsya* and *Mārkaṇḍeya* is the text of the *Vāyu* and *Brahmāṇḍa* from which the other *Purāṇas* framed their lists. While the *Matsya* copied from the *Vāyu* text freely, the *Mārkaṇḍeya* subjected it to a critical revision, and so the *Mārkaṇḍeya* list based on several directions is valuable as a means of checking the *Vāyu* text (see charts of the Central and Eastern divisions). The *Mārkaṇḍeya* on the other hand was copied by the *Brahma* in the same way as the *Vāyu* has been copied by the *Matsya*, and consequently, the text of the *Vāyu* remains the common original source. It is evident, therefore, that we possess two different accounts of ancient Indian geography, the earliest being that of the *Vāyu* text, which has been filtered through the *Purāṇas*. The later account is that which is contained in the *Brhat-samhitā* and *Parāśara* and adopted by the Mār. (k). We may conveniently designate these two distinct streams of tradition as represented by the *Vāyu* and the *Brhat-samhitā* texts, as text of the *Vā group*, and the text of the *Brsam. group* respectively. Not that the two texts are sharply distinguished from each other: in fact, there are agreements on many points and the safest course

would be to find out these names which are common to both the texts, with a view to ascertaining, as far as possible, the original version they indicate. So it will be necessary to collate the divisional lists of the texts of the two groups.

The text of the *Kāvya-mīmāṃsā* professes to be purely geographical. It supplies a list for each of the four divisions but the version it records differs from other accounts. Some names of the *Kāvya-mīmāṃsā* text no doubt appear in the corresponding list of Purāṇas but the manner of treatment is totally different, and excepting a few names in the lists of the Eastern and Northern Divisions, a good portion of the account does not appear to be thoroughly in position. Similarly the *Nāṭyaśāstra* of Bharata furnishes four lists of country names, but unlike *Kāvya-mīmāṃsā*, it has a greater number of country names in common with the Purāṇic text. But the text of *Nāṭyaśāstra* does not particularly belong to any group—neither to the *Bṛhat-saṃhitā* nor to the *Vāyu*—and its points of agreement with *Kāvya-mīmāṃsā* are fewer.

Geographical texts also occur in the works of the lexicographers of the eleventh and twelfth centuries. The *Vaijayantī* of Yādavaprakāśa a native of Conjeeveram who is regarded to have flourished in the second-half of the eleventh century A.D., the *Abhidhānacintāmaṇi* (c.A.D. 1150) of Hemacandra (Guzerat), and the *Trikāṇḍa-śeṣa* (c.A.D. 1159) of Puruṣottamadeva (Orissa), are the more important books on Sanskrit vocabulary which contain valuable information on the ancient geography of India. But as the treatment of geography in those texts is mainly confined, for the purpose of a vocabulary, to giving synonyms of geographical names, these data of the vocabularies are not tabulated in the charts prepared for this work. Full notice, however, has been taken in relevant connections, of the geographical information supplied by these authors. Of the three works, Hemacandra's *Abhidhāna-cintāmaṇi* is very useful and reliable, as the details he records are mostly in accord with what is known from other sources. The contributions of Puruṣottamadeva on the subject are brief and condensed and they generally agree with those of Hemacandra. His geographical notions are not always clear as he makes a confusion between Madhya-deśa and Pūrva-deśa<sup>1</sup>.

The work of Yādavaprakāśa<sup>2</sup> has many peculiarities as in many points he gives altogether new synonyms unknown either to Hema-

<sup>1</sup> TKS, p. 81.

<sup>2</sup> For a recent work on the '*Vaijayantī* of Yādavaprakāśa', See Dr. D. C. Ganguly in IHQ. XIX. 214-24.

candra or Puruṣottamadeva. Thus for instance, he equates Bhaurika with Samataṭa<sup>1</sup>, Gandhāra with Dihaṇḍa<sup>2</sup>, Sambhāla with Sūrasena<sup>3</sup>. Some of his geographical synonyms are so strange that they require to be investigated into carefully as in Avantī (=Takṣaśilā).<sup>4</sup> Some of his entries again show lack of accurate regional sense, as in the inclusion of Mekala and Kośala in the Aparānta or Pāścātya-deśa<sup>5</sup>, Śālva in the Prācya-deśa<sup>6</sup> and Sūrasena in Udīcya<sup>7</sup>. There are also other statements not free from doubt, which make *Vaijayanṭī* not more reliable than the *Abhidhānacintāmaṇi*.

All these are the relevant texts of ancient Indian ethnography and geography. The various lists when examined and collated will bring out in clear relief the corruptions of each. The variations in the Purāṇic texts, it should be pointed out, are often superficial and may be due to faults in the Mss. themselves, or on the part of the copyists, and not unoften in the structure of the lists. As for the defects in the structure of lists there are many types; for example, a name may be left out by a mere omission probably accidental. Thus the *Brahma* omits the Cholas from the Southern Division and Niṣādas from the South-Eastern Division, although almost every account asserts their inclusion in the respective divisions. Names not very familiar have been dropped in some cases. There are also instances of pure blunder. Thirdly, names have been displaced and the order has been revised. It is also to be noted that variations have been in a good number of cases due to the actual settlements of the same people in different places.

This is a very prominent feature of the texts and requires careful examination. Apparently, the lists are very unsatisfactory owing to the repetition of the same name in different regions and with different tribes preceding and following—an arrangement that can only be explained by the supposition that settlements of some particular tribes lay scattered over various parts of India. These lists of names may, therefore, be found useful if we may be able to draw some definite conclusions from an examination of them which would throw light on many points regarding the geographical basis of ethnic settlements. In every list, the names are supposed to be given in a geographical order, and so whatever may be the nature of corruptions, if they are detected and the original order restored, it may

<sup>1</sup> VJN, p. 37, v. 31.

<sup>2</sup> Ibid. v. 24.

<sup>3</sup> Ibid.

<sup>4</sup> VJN, p. 159, v. 9.

<sup>5</sup> Ibid. p. 38, v. 37.

<sup>6</sup> Ibid. p. 37, v. 32.

<sup>7</sup> Ibid. v. 24.

afford some little aid to identification. When we find groups of countries or tribes always enumerated together, and sometimes the locality of one or more indicated, we may reasonably assume the position of the remainder.

The other point is that, as the lists are mostly drawn from the geographical chapters of the *Purāṇas*, we have in them a traditional account of a wide variety of human groups and sub-groups living in the different regions of India. Some of the names in the lists are fragments of a far distant age and take us back to the period of the *Rgveda*. Yet there are positive indications to show that these lists which are arranged in a definite order, and are stereotyped in character, were altered to receive late additions, and were brought up to date from time to time by the inclusion of the geography of an ever increasing number of tribes and countries of different ages. This was obviously done to make the geographic system comprehensive in conformity with the current historical conditions, which could scarcely have been made from the meagre geographical information of the Vedic age. Thus the mention of the Yavanas, Śakas, and Pahlavas whose connection with India is assigned to the second and first centuries B. C., and the inclusion of the Hūns (5th century A.D.) as well as of the Turuṣkas (Muḥammadans), show the wide range of the strata of information collected. This process resulted in making the *Purāṇic* accounts so many repositories of geographical information which thus afford a valuable picture of the geography of ancient India.

In the next chapters the task of collating the lists will be taken up and attempts will be made to ascertain, as far as possible, the original position of countries and peoples as indicated by this scrutiny. By this method individual corruptions and errors will be corrected and a new list framed for each of the divisions of India. Ethnic settlements, with the original form of their names restored and their regional position ascertained and corroborated by the one or the other text, will only be admitted in the corrected lists. Those names which do not find support and corroboration regarding their position even from a single list, will then be left out as erroneous and unworthy of notice.

## CHAPTER III

### THE CENTRAL DIVISION

(See chart No. 1)

The lists of this division are furnished by as many as eleven texts, but some of the texts are incomplete: the accounts of the *Garuḍa*, *Kūrma* and *Viṣṇu* are extremely meagre and are hardly of any use. The list of the *Nāṭya-sāstra*, is also defective in many points. The text of the *Bṛhat-saṃhitā* group, comprising the lists of *Bṛsam.*, *Parāśara*, and *Mārka* (k). seems to be correct and complete; all the accounts are fairly in common agreement with one other. But it appears from the chart that in the *Bṛsam.* group, the list of *Mārka* (k). alone in spite of some shortcomings possesses the clue to check the versions of *Parāśara* and *Varāhamihira*. Thus the entries under Nos. 7, 8, 9, 10 of the list of the *Bṛhat-saṃhitā* which are omitted by *Parāśara*, are corroborated in their position by the *Mārka* (k)., although it reads the names differently. The text of the *Vā.* group in which are included the lists of *Vā.*, *Mat.*, *Mārka.*, *Br.*, and *Vām.* is quite good and though there are great differences in the reading of names, the accounts, subject to some slight variations, perfectly agree. And as pointed out before, it is again clear from the chart (No. 1) that the *Mat.* has borrowed from the *Vā.* and that the *Br.* has copied from the *Mārka.*, while the *Vāmana* has conformed to the general order in its own way. But the *Mārka.*, unlike the *Mat.*, has made a critical revision of the *Vā.* list without borrowing from it, and as such possesses the clue to check the *Vā.* list. The number of ethnic names supplied by the various lists is given below.

<i>Bṛsam.</i>	<i>Parāśara.</i>	<i>Mārka</i> (k)	<i>Vā.</i>	<i>Mat.</i>	<i>Mārka.</i>	<i>Br.</i>	<i>Vām.</i>	<i>Gaḍ.</i>
33	32	30	18	18	10	10	11	7

Here it is possible to observe the distinctive features of the two sets of traditions as represented by the *Bṛsam.* group and the *Vā.* group. There is a great difference in the number of names between the two groups; the *Vā* group, as is shown in the chart, records altogether a different set of names although some of them are mentioned by the text of the *Bṛsam.* group. The number is, however, greatest in the list of the *Bṛhat-saṃhitā* which can now be examined. It will be found that the entire list of the *Bṛhat-saṃhitā* is supported either by the one or the other list of its group,

and hence all the names recorded by the Brsam. belong to the Madhya-deśa. The lists of Parāśara and Mārka (k). are also completely corroborated, in their setting, so much so, that there is hardly any new name in the two lists with the exception of Nos. 17 and 30 in the Parāśara list and Nos. 5, 9 and 19 in the Mārka (k). list. These names are manifestly insertions, as they are not mentioned in any single text (excepting the Śakas who are mentioned by the *Vāmana*), and hence it will be erroneous to place them here. As regards the different lists of the Vā. group, all of them have observed the same order and enumerated practically the same set. The list of the Mārka, is short and abridged and on examination it stands that Nos. 7, 8, and 10 of the Vā. and Mat. which Mārka., or for the matter of that, Br. and Vām., omit are undoubtedly insertions of the Vā. and consequently of the Mat. Excepting Mat. (Gad's account is distorted beyond measure) all other accounts of the Vā. group corroborate Mārka. and contradict Vā. So these three names in question are not shown in the list of Madhya-deśa peoples. It should be noted that the Mārka. has also omitted to mention those names of the list of the Vā. and Mat. which are found in the accounts of the Brsam. group (see chart) and consequently has furnished a short list of only ten names which probably indicate the nature of the original text of the Vā. group. However, there being no other discrepancy in the lists of the Vā. group, the whole list of the Vā. can be included in this division. The Yaudhcyas of *Garuḍa* and other such names of the *Nāṭya-sāstra* list which remain uncorroborated are not included in this division.

Thus, on an investigation made on the lines shown above the following ethnic names and countries may be exhibited in the Central Division. Mistakes and textual corruptions are easily detected by tabulation and collation, and the original reading of names has been attempted to be restored. It is, however, very necessary to determine the original order and also the textual position of the different names, as that would be of great value in determining their identity. So according to the text of the Brsam. group, the following peoples and countries belonged to the Central Division:—

- (1) Bhadrās or Bhadrākaraś,<sup>1</sup> (2) Arimedās<sup>2</sup>, (3) Māṇḍavyas,<sup>3</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Evidences are equally balanced in favour of both the readings. It may be pointed out that the final 'Ka' in the form of the name is a common Sanskrit suffix to ethnic names given or dropped at random.

<sup>2</sup> Alberuni's reading Ari and Meda as two names, is a mistake (AI, I. 300).

<sup>3</sup> Both Parāśara and Mārka (k). differ in reading the first part of this name and so the middle part of the name is accepted. 'Lepa' and 'Vi' are qualitative or adjectival prefixes.

(4) Sālvas,<sup>1</sup> (5) Nīpas, (6) Ujjihānas, (7) Saṅkhyātas,<sup>2</sup> (8) Marus,<sup>3</sup> (9) Vatsas,<sup>4</sup> (10) Ghoṣas,<sup>5</sup> (11) Yāmunas, (12) Sārasvatas, (13) Matsyas, (14) Mādhyamikas, (15) Māthurakas, (16) Jyotiṣas,<sup>6</sup> (17)

<sup>1</sup> This and the following two names are read by Alberuni as Sālvanī, and Pojjihāna (op. cit.). This may show how corruptions have passed undetected.

<sup>2</sup> In the chart Saṅketas of Mārka (k) list (No. 21), is shown against the Saṅkhyātas of the Brsam list (No. 7), for the former seems to be an abridged form of the latter. But Kirfel following Pargiter puts Saṅketa of the Mārka (k) list (No. 21) against Sāketa of Brsam list (No. 25) and shows that saṅkhyā of the Mārka (k) list (No. 8), is the equivalent of Saṅkhyāta, No. 7 of the Brsam. list (DKDI, p. 81-2). As for the equatation Saṅketa of Mārka (k) and Sāketa of Brsam, as suggested by Dr. Kirfel; the latter is a very well known name distinctly mentioned in the Brsam. and Parāśara lists. In this case it is very unlikely that the *Mārkaṇḍeya* should forget the name Sāketa and distort it as Saṅketa. So it is not improbable that the Saṅketas of Mārka (k) (No. 21) stand for the Saṅkhyātas of the Brsam. (No. 7), as shown in the chart. Kirfel, however, equates Saṅkhyāta of the Brsam. (No. 7) with Saṅkhyā of Mārka (k) going under No. 8 in his list. But in our chart we have taken 'Saṅkhyā' of the Mārka (k) list to be a suffix of the word Ghoṣa (No. 8, see chart), but in reality standing for another name (see fn. 5).

<sup>3</sup> Pargiter's suggestion that the reading should be Mālavas (MP, p. 354) appears untenable in the light of the text of the Brsam. The reading is also acceptable as Marus, i.e. people of the desert.

<sup>4</sup> Kirfel following Pargiter drops the name Vatsas from the Mārka (k) list, and so the next name Ghoṣa-Saṅkhyā in our list of Mārka (k), going under No. 8 (see chart) is put under No. 7 in Kirfel's list (DKDI, p. 81). Kirfel however shows that the Khasas of Mārka (k) going under No. 9, refer to the Vatsas of the Brsam. which is untenable.

<sup>5</sup> In the absence of any other evidence in favour of the Mārka (k)'s reading of the name we are obliged to take the reading of the Brsam. Pargiter's suggestion that (MP, 351) the name is an adjective to the Khasas appears to be incorrect. The word 'Saṅkhyas' which is tacked on to the word Ghoṣa (No. 8) in the Mārka (k) list is evidently the distorted form of one other name of the Brsam. list which it has omitted. The Saṅkhyātas (No. 7) of the Brsam. list are referred to by the Mārka (k) as Saṅketas (No. 21) and so the word Saṅkhyas which is tacked on to the word Ghoṣa like a suffix may perhaps stand for another name possibly the Mādhyamikas (No. 14) of the Brsam. list which is a significant omission in the Mārka (k) list. This is an instance to show how names are not only distorted beyond recognition, but are also torn off from their original context.

<sup>6</sup> The words 'Upa' and 'Uttama' found in the Brsam. and Parāśara lists respectively are evidently qualitative or adjectival prefixes of the name Jyotiṣas which is a professional name denoting astrologers. The use of this name in this list suggests that the professional name was later on turned into the name of a tribe or a clan whose profession was mainly astrology.

Dharmāraṇya,<sup>1</sup> (18) Śūrasenas, (19) Gauragrīvas,<sup>2</sup> (20) Uddehikas, (21) Pāṇḍus, (22) Guḍas,<sup>3</sup> (23) Āsmakas,<sup>4</sup> (24) Pañcālas,<sup>5</sup> (25) Sāketas, (26) Kaṅkas, (27) Kurus, (28) Kālakoṭis, (29) Kukuras,<sup>6</sup> (30) Pāriyātranāga, (31) Audumbaras, (32) Kāpiṣṭhalas,<sup>7</sup> (33) Gajāhvayas.<sup>8</sup>

<sup>1</sup> The reading of Brsam. is supported by the Mārka (k). and so it is accepted. But the reading Umāraṇya of Parāśara may give a clue to the location of Dharmāraṇya. Alberuni also reads Dharmāraṇya (op. cit.).

<sup>2</sup> Pargiter (Ibid. 352) has taken the name to imply an adjective qualifying the Āsmakas. But this appears to be manifestly erroneous when compared with other lists as is shown in the chart.

<sup>3</sup> It is held that Guḍa is again only the second half of the name of a people the full designation of which is Pāṇḍuguḍa (ABORI. VII. 152). But it is not an error to divide the name as Alberuni (op. cit.) distinctly refers to Guḍa, while the Pāṇḍus are a historic name of Central India. Further, the combination Pāṇḍuguḍa does not carry any meaning.

<sup>4</sup> The reading is accepted on the authority of the Mārka (k). This is also the well-known form of the name. Alberuni's Āsvattha (op. cit.) is a mistake.

<sup>5</sup> Parāśara's reading Uttara and Dakṣiṇa-Pañcāla does not affect the reading; it rather enlightens us regarding the existence of a branch of the people.

<sup>6</sup> Utpala adds 'śāca' after the name whereas Parāśara calls it Kukurārājya. We have shown Pāṇḍas of Mārka (k). and Varbaras of Vām., in the same order and position with the Kukuras in the chart. Probably these are some abusive epithets of the Kukuras. But as Kukura is a well-known name it is retained in preference to the others. Alberuni also reads the name (op. cit.) Kukura.

<sup>7</sup> The reading of the Brsam. is taken, but it cannot be ignored that the Mārka (k). reads Kapiṅgalas and other lists of the Vā. group have the reading Jāṅgalas which possibly refer to the original and old form of the name from which the word Kapiṅgala is derived and is plainly a corruption of it. But the mention of the word Kapiṅgala in the Mārka (k). list in the same order and position so as to correspond to Kāpiṣṭhala (No. 32) of the Brsam. list perhaps constitutes a valuable link. Does it indicate that the Jāṅgala country and Kāpiṣṭhala were identical? In fact a Jāṅgala country was very well-known in the Epic period. The word meant a forest or a waste tract and such tracts probably formed a portion of the Madra, Kuru and Pañcāla (Mbh (B)., VI. 9. 42; V. 19. 29) countries, as such names as Kuru-Jāṅgala, Madreya-jāṅgala and Pañcāla-jāṅgala\* would indicate (DHNI, II, p. 1053). This would show that the country of the Jāṅgalas was somewhere in the vicinity of the Kuru-Pañcāla country. A Jaina book of considerable antiquity refers to Jāṅgala and its city Ahicchatra (infra p. 80, fn. 2). But in the mediaeval period the name Jāṅgludeśa (Jāṅgala-deśa) seems to have been given to a portion of Rajputana which had for its capital Ahicchatrapura identified with Nāgapura i.e., modern Nagaur in the Jodhpur State. In the *Vaijayanti*, Jāṅgala is mentioned as a country of Madhya-deśa (VJN, p. 38, v. 40).

<sup>8</sup> Pargiter gives good reason to believe that the people are the same as Hastināpuras. Parāśara writes both Pāṇḍunagara and Gajāhvayas evidently meaning the Hastināpuras.



According to the text of the Vā. group the following countries and peoples belonged to the Central Division<sup>1</sup> :—

(34) Kulyas, (35) Kuntalas<sup>2</sup> (36) Kāsis, (37) Kośalas, (38) Avantas,<sup>3</sup> (39) Kalingas,<sup>4</sup> (40) Mūlakas,<sup>5</sup> (41) Vṛkas<sup>6</sup>.

#### 1) BHADRAS or BHADRĀKARAS

It is difficult to believe that the Bhadras and the Bhadrākaraś are not one and the same people. The *Mahābhārata*<sup>7</sup> and the

<sup>1</sup> It should be noted that this list excludes those names of the Vā. text which occur in the list of the Brām. group.

<sup>2</sup> Dr. D. C. Sircar's contention that the name is Kunti (IHQ. XXI. 301, fn. 7) is not based on adequate evidence. The testimony of the Garuḍa need not be taken seriously. The Bhīṣma-parva list has both the readings namely Kunti and Kuntala while all the important Purāṇas read Kuntala.

<sup>3</sup> All the texts of the Vā. group differ widely in reading this name. The Arthapada (No. 15) of the Vā. list and the Atharvas (No. 7), evidently a variant, of the Mārka. list are not a known people, their existence may be doubted. In the same order and position, the *Matsya* reads the name as Āvantaś i.e. the people of Avanti, a country which was a Madhya-deśa janapada and was known to ancient Indian tradition as such. It is proper that while restoring the original form of names we should select historical and inscriptional names. The other readings Andhrakas and Aṅgas form an unaccountable insertion and must, therefore, be removed from this division. See TAI, p. 383, for Dr. B. C. Law's observations.

<sup>4</sup> The people meant here are undoubtedly the Kalingas, but the prefix 'Arka' found in the reading of the Mārka (No. 8) which means sun, may stand for those of the Kalingas who worshipped the sun, just as the word Konāraka suggests that it was the Konar temple of the sun. The reading of the Vā. is Tiliṅgas (No. 16) which is either a variant of Teliṅga or a shorter form of Trikaliṅga, but the texts of the Vā. group in general refer to the Kalingas in this order and context and so they have to be placed in the list although the Kalingas judged by their geographical position, i.e. in a regional sense were not a Madhya-deśa people of ancient times. See TAI, p. 383. Dr. D. C. Sircar's reading Bhuliṅgas (op. cit.) cannot be accounted for.

<sup>5</sup> This is again a difficult word. Only the Vā. list (No. 17) mentions the Magadhas and so it is rejected. Similarly the Śamakas (No. 9) of the Br. list appears to be a corruption of the original name. Hence the choice will have to be confined between the Mukas (No. 17) of the Mat. and Malakas (No. 9) of the Mārka. list. The second name bears a suspicious likeness to Mūlaka, a country known to Indian tradition as being situated near the Āśmaka country. In the Buddhist texts 'Āśmaka-Mūlaka' is often treated as forming an identical pair (see also CL, p. 4, fn. 3) and since the Āśmakas have been placed in this division, the Mūlakas may be included accordingly. Dr. B. C. Law following Pargiter thinks that the reading should be Malajas who are mentioned in the Rāmāyaṇa as neighbours of the Kārūṣas (TAI, p. 397). But the name in the Rāmāyaṇa is Malada (Infra p. 37-38) the name of an eastern people in our text (No. 40).

<sup>6</sup> Dr. B. C. Law suggests that the correct reading is Vṛṣṇika (TAI, p. 390). But the Vṛkas are known to us from other sources. Similarly the reading Andhakas as given by Dr. D. C. Sircar (op. cit.) is erroneous for excepting the Mat. all others namely the Vā. Mārka. and Br. read Vṛkas.

<sup>7</sup> ii. 14. 26: Śūrasenā Bhadrakārā Bodhāḥ śālvāḥ.

*Matsya Purāṇa*<sup>1</sup> testify to the close association of the Bhadrākara with some well-known names of ancient Indian ethnography, such as the Śālvas and the Śūrasenas. Elsewhere in the Great Epic reference is made to the horses of the Bhadrākara country<sup>2</sup> in conjunction with Yodha.<sup>3</sup> In another passage it is said that Karna, in course of his conquests in the west, overpowered the *gaṇas* like the Bhadras, Rohitakas, Āgneyas and Mālavas : *Bhadrān Rohitakāms-caiva Āgneyān Mālavānapi gaṇān sarvān vinirjitya*.<sup>4</sup> In the first place, it is clear that the Bhadras were a *gaṇa* or a tribe<sup>5</sup> like the famous people the Mālavas.<sup>6</sup> Secondly, the geographical location of this tribe is indicated by the allusions contained in the passage cited above, where they are linked with other Punjab tribes. The collocation of the names suggest that the people lived somewhere to the north of the Rohitakas. The name Rohitaka plainly survives in modern Rohtak, the head-quarters of the district of the same name in the Punjab, 44 miles north-west of Delhi. As a place name Rohtak is perhaps a corruption of Ruddhakaṭaka which occurs in our list of the Northern Division (No. 65). The Kaman stone-inscription mentions Rohitaka<sup>7</sup> which presents us with an intermediate stage of the name between Ruddhakaṭaka and the modern Rohtak. In the *Rājataranginī*<sup>8</sup> the name is Rouhītaka, and the *Mahābhārata* refers to Rohitaka in connection with Nakula's conquest in the west.<sup>9</sup>

Being linked with the Rohitakas the Bhadras lived, as seems very likely, somewhere to their north, presumably in the Upper Gangetic basin. The river Ganges is described by the Chinese traveller Hiuen Tsang in high terms. Thus he says, : "In the popular literature the river is called *Fu-Shui* or 'Happiness waters' that is,

<sup>1</sup> 114. 35: *Śūrasenā Bhadrakārā Bāhyāḥ*.

<sup>2</sup> vii. 22. 53.

<sup>3</sup> vii. 22 68: *Yodhāśca Bhadrakārāśca*.

<sup>4</sup> iii. 253. 19-20. The assumption that the Bhadrakāras are the same as the Madrakāras (IHQ. XXI. 300. fn. 4) can hardly be maintained.

<sup>5</sup> The use of the word *gaṇa* in coins bears a tribal import (CCAI, p. LXXIX).

<sup>6</sup> In Bharata's *Nāṭya-śāstra* Bhadra and Mālavya are described as two of the five types of the Mahāpuruṣas (IC. I. 352-53).

<sup>7</sup> EI. XXIV. 832, line 4.

<sup>8</sup> IV. 11, RT, I, p. 121. Cf. EI. I. 15, vs. 23.

<sup>9</sup> ii. 32.1. But local tradition of Rohtak avers that its ancient name was Rohtāgarh or 'the fort of Rohtās', a Ponwār Rājā (IG. XXI. 321). Rohtak is connected with a settlement of the Yaudheyas in the 2nd century B.C. as 'Bahudhāfiyake' of their coin legend is equated with Hariana tract of the Punjab which includes Rohatak (IHQ. XXVII. 201).

the water of religious merit. Accumulated sins are effaced by a bath in the water of the river....” etc.<sup>1</sup> This *Fu-Shui* or ‘River of religious merit’, i.e. the Ganges was known according to Julien as *Mahābhadrā*.<sup>2</sup> It may be noted that the observation made above of the Ganges by Hiuen Tsang was in connection with the *Su-lu-K’in-na*, or the Dehra Dun district,<sup>3</sup> and Indian tradition attributes special sanctity to this upper course of the Ganges particularly near Hardwar and Kankhal. Hiuen Tsang’s ‘River of religious merit’ evidently refers to this portion of the river. So Julien’s *Mahābhadrā* is a close rendering having regard to the merit of the river Ganges, for the word Bhadrā is explained by Kern as meaning ‘the Blessed’.<sup>4</sup> This favours the suggestion that the people who lived around the *Mahābhadrā*, that is, the upper stream of the Ganges in the Dehra-Dun-Kumaun regions, were considered as “the Blessed” and consequently earned the name ‘Bhadrās’. The following description of the Kāma country identified with Kumaun occurs in an inscription: “...full of fathomless virtues adorned with all kinds of comfort and whose population was of beautiful dress.”<sup>5</sup>

The combined evidence of some Copper-plate Grants of the Katyūris of Kumaun,<sup>6</sup> which paleographically may be referred to a period from the eighth to the tenth century A.D., points to the existence of a tribe of that name in that region. One of these records is inscribed on stone and belongs to the temple of Śiva as Vyaghreśvar situated at the junction of the Gomati and Sarayu in Patti Katyūr of Kumaun. Four other Grants are engraved on copper and are preserved in the temple of Pāndukeśvar near Badrinath. The Grants referred to in the records are mostly villages situated in the Alakanda valley and the Kumaun region, and what is striking is that the tribal name of the writer in all these records is the same. The writer of the Plates of Lalitesvara Deva was Gaṅga Bhadrā, in the plate of Desata Deva it was another Bhadrā and in the plates of Padma Deva and Subhikṣarāja Deva the scribe was Nanda Bhadrā. It is rightly observed that “the coincidences in order and position in this respect cannot be accidental and clearly shows that

<sup>1</sup> YC, I, p. 319.

<sup>2</sup> Ibid. 320.

<sup>3</sup> Ibid. 317-319.

<sup>4</sup> IA XXII 175 Cf. Atharvaveda xx. 127. 10: “*Janah sa bhadramehati rāstre rājñah Parikṣitaḥ*”. It is translated as follows:—“The people thrive merrily in the kingdom etc.” (Bloomfield, Atharvaveda, pp. 197-198).

<sup>5</sup> IA X. 343, vs. 2.

<sup>6</sup> NHH, Chap. III. pp. 27-40.

all were derived from one common original in the family of the professional scribes whose tribal name was Bhadra".<sup>1</sup>

The evidence of some epigraphs and of the Great Epic suggests that the Bhadras were divided into several branches, as distinguishing epithets, prefixed to the name Bhadra, frequently occur. The Prabhadras, presumably a Punjab tribe<sup>2</sup>, were one such people and so also the Uttamabhadras a republican clan of the early century of the Christian era<sup>3</sup>. During the time of Nahapāna, the greatest of the Kṣaharāta Satraps (119 to 124 A.D.),<sup>4</sup> the power of the Uttamabhadras who were either his allies<sup>5</sup> or his feudatory tribes<sup>6</sup> was threatened by the Mālayas (=Mālavas) as is known from the Nasik cave inscription of Śaka Uṣavadāta, the son-in-law of Nahapāna.<sup>7</sup> The inscription indicates that the Uttamabhadras were living somewhere in Malwa.

The plates of the time of Paramāra Bhojadeva found at Tilakwādā near Baroda refer to the family of the Śravaṇa-bhadras<sup>8</sup> who had migrated from Kānyakubja<sup>9</sup> and settled in Malwa. The

<sup>1</sup> Ibid. 40. Other inscriptions testify that the name Bhadra generally stood for the tribal name of a class of people whose hereditary profession was scribing i.e. the work of a lipikāra. Thus the Kamauḍi Copper plate Grant of Vaidyadeva, king of Kāmarūpa was engraved by Karṇabhadra who is described as an intelligent, courteous and accurate workman (EI. II. 358). The author of the Bijholi rock inscription (V. S. 1226) was Guṇabhadra (v. 88), a *mahā-muni*, who belonged to the *Mā(thu)ra* Saṅgha (EI. XXVI. 100). The Lucknow museum inscription 'of about the latter half of the 7th century A.D.' was similarly composed by a Bhadra (Bhandarkar's List No. 1778; EI. XX. 252). The Badal pillar inscription was incised by Sūtradhāra Viṣṇu-Bhadra (EI. II. 160-67). It appears that a Bhadra combined the function of composing and engraving an inscription and the term was more tribal and professional than geographical. But a Bhadra seems to have been a writer of plays as well. The *Harivaṃśa* refers to one professional dramatist of the name of Bhadra who entertained the sages by his dramatic talents (ii.91.26ff.).

<sup>2</sup> Mbh., vii.22.43. Cf. Mbh., v. 57. 33: *Pāñcālāsca Prabhadrakāḥ*. They are also linked with the gaṇas like Dāsūra and Dāseraka in the *Mahābhārata* (vi. 50. 47): *Dāsūrakāḥ Prabhadrāsca Dāseraka gaṇaiḥ saha*. The Bhadras according to epic tradition were also a gaṇa like the Mālavas.

<sup>3</sup> Smith, Catalogue of Coins, Vol. I, sec. VII, pp. 160 ff.

<sup>4</sup> PHAI, p. 406.

<sup>5</sup> Ibid. 409.

<sup>6</sup> R. C. Mazumdar, Corporate life in Ancient India, p. 274.

<sup>7</sup> EI. VIII. 79.

<sup>8</sup> EI. XXI. 157.

<sup>9</sup> The Narwal (11 miles to the SE. of Ujjain) plates again refer to Śravaṇa-bhadra as a locality from which Brahman donees No. 13 migrated to Malwa. The combined testimony of the two inscriptions indicates that Śravaṇa-bhadra must have been a place in Northern India near Kanoj (EI. XIII. 103). The Plates of Ratnadeva II of the Chedi year 880 again refers to a place called Śoṇabhadra in the Madhya-deśa which is regarded as identical with the hill where the river Śon takes its rise (EI. XXII. 164 fn.).

Sravaṇa-bhadrās may also have been a section of the Epic and Purāṇic Bhadrās and were probably a Kṣatriya tribe like the Uttama-bhadrās referred to above. An inscription from Kolhapur again refers to the Mūlabhadrās: *Mūlabhadra-Vaṁśodbhava*.<sup>1</sup> A South-Indian inscription of S.S. 1183 records that ten persons bearing the appellation Vīra-bhadra were appointed as '*Grāmasya Rakṣakāḥ*' of a certain village.<sup>2</sup> The Record shows that 'Vīra-bhadra' was the official designation of a class of persons who were appointed to carry out punishments for certain offences.

## 2) ARIMEDAS

A people of this name does not find any mention either in the Vedic and Post-vedic literature, or in the Epics and Purāṇas. Their identity is not very clear but the reference underlying this entry is probably to a people who sacrificed their enemies.

In the Mount Abu inscription of Samarasimha,<sup>3</sup> (V.S. 1342) which gives the *vaṁśāvali* of the Guhila princes of Mewād<sup>4</sup> from Bappa or Bappaka, the heroic exploits and military qualities of the Guhila princes are profusely eulogised. The name of almost every ruling prince suggested heroic exploits.<sup>5</sup> The inscription itself refers to the reign of the Prince Samara of Medapāṭa which was founded by Bappaka: *Bappaken=o-Kaihlāvanyotkara-nirjñit-āmara-puraḥśrī Medapāṭābhīdhām*.<sup>6</sup> The word Medha of the name Arimedha survives in Medapāṭa by which the famous Rajput State Mewār or Udaipur was known.<sup>7</sup> Bühler says that 'Medapāṭa is the Sanskrit form of Mēvād. The word means etymologically "the country of the Medas", the Mers of modern times, who still inhabit the Aravali hills, on the boundary of Mēvād.<sup>8</sup> These people possibly gave their name to 'Mēḍaṇṭakampurani' which was the 'Rājadhāni' of Nāga-bhaṭa, son of Narabhaṭa, as recorded in the Jodhpur inscription of Pratihāra Bauka (V.S. 894).<sup>9</sup> The city is identified with Merta<sup>10</sup> to the west of Ajmer in Jodhpur. It thus appears that the Medas or Mers lived, as at present, in Southern Rajputana,<sup>11</sup> particularly in

<sup>1</sup> EI. XIX. 37. lines 5-8.

<sup>2</sup> JAHS. IV. 153, 160, lines 57-8.

<sup>3</sup> IA. XVI. 345-55.

<sup>4</sup> See also, Asiatic Researches. Vol. XVI p. 292.

<sup>5</sup> Cf. Arisimha, IA. XVI. 353, verse 30-31.

<sup>6</sup> Ibid. 347, lines 6-7.

<sup>7</sup> EI. XXIV. 307.

<sup>8</sup> IA. VI. 191. See also Elliot and Dowson. The History of India, I.p. 523.

<sup>9</sup> EI. XVIII. 95, line 7.

<sup>10</sup> Ibid. 94.

<sup>11</sup> IA. VII. 254 The Medas are now found also on the coast of Baluchistan (IG. VI. 288).

Medapāta or Mewar which was possibly the home of the Arimedhas<sup>1</sup> as well. We have here then, what appears to be highly probable, the historical proof of the presence of the Rajputs of Mewar in their actual fatherland as early as the time of Varāhamihira if not earlier. The name was less an ethnic, in the rigorous acceptation of the word, than a general appellation applied by the Indians to the warrior clans renowned from antiquity. Although not mentioned in ordinary Indian literature, the tradition of the Arimedhas and particularly of their kindred may be traced back to an earlier period. Ancient Indian tradition knows of a Kṣatriya Brāhman sub-family called the Priyamedhas who like the Maudgalyas originated from the Paurava dynasty.<sup>2</sup> The Priyamedhas and Arimedhas may be the offshots of the Medhas :<sup>3</sup> the value of Varāhamihira's notice of Arimedha lies mainly in the fact that it presents us with an accurate enough original of that Sanskrit form of the people's name, which on independent etymological scrutiny and inscriptional evidence, we must assume, was the name of the inhabitants of Mewar or Udaipur.

Cunningham thinks<sup>4</sup> that the Medi or Medas were in the Punjab as early at least as the time of Virgil in B.C. 40 to 30 and that the location of Medi on the Hydaspes, by classical writers of the first century of the Christian era, is a proof of the antiquity of the people. There is perhaps no literary or epigraphic evidence to support this view. But the Great Epic mentions a people called Yodhas and Bodhas coupled with the Bhadrākaraś : *Yodhāśca Bhadrakārāśca*<sup>5</sup> ; *Bhadra-Kārā Bodhāh*.<sup>6</sup> Varāhamihira in his *Bṛhat-saṃhitā* opens his list of nations of the Central Region as follows :—*Bhadrārimedhāh*<sup>7</sup> etc. This clears up the tradition regarding the associates of the Bhadras. Though an erroneous reading, it seems difficult to believe that the

<sup>1</sup> An inscription of the reign of Kākatīya Ganapatideva (Hyderabad Archaeological Series No. 4) gives a list of kings mostly of northern India in which mention is made of a Lord of Arimarda conjoined with the king of Hūṇa and Magadha. The identity and location of the Arimarda country is uncertain but Arimedha and Arimarda bear almost a common meaning.

<sup>2</sup> AIHT, p. 245. Priya-medha is the name of a seer in the *Rgveda* (i. 130. 9 ; viii. 5. 25). In the *Aitareya Brāhmaṇa* (viii. 22) the name is referred to as patronymic (Praiya-medha) of some priests. The *Taittirīya Brāhmaṇa* (ii. 1. 9) knows three Praiyamedhas and in the *Gopāthya Brāhmaṇa* (i. 3. 15) they are called *Bharadvājas*.

<sup>3</sup> Dr. J. J. Modi supposes that the Medha or Mers of Rajputana are the descendants of those ancient Huns who invaded India in the 5th century. Modi—Presidential Address, Fourth Oriental Conference, p. 10.

<sup>4</sup> AR. II. 51-54.

<sup>5</sup> Mbh., vii. 22.68.

<sup>6</sup> Ibid. ii. 14.26. The *Matsya Purāṇa* reads : *Bhadrakārā Bāhyāh* (114-35).

<sup>7</sup> See chart No. I.

information underlying this entry (Yodhas and Bodhas) in the *Mahābhārata* referred to any other people than the Medhas.<sup>1</sup> The Kumaon plates<sup>2</sup> of the eighth century A.D. noted above mention the Medas who are said to have settled in the Punjab.<sup>3</sup> But other notices by Muhammadian writers indicate that they migrated from the Upper Punjab to Sindh. As early as the 7th century A.D. the Jats along with the Meds are found to be living in Sindh and were ruled by a Brahman dynasty.<sup>4</sup>

### 3) MANDAVYAS

Māṇḍavya occurs in the *Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa*<sup>5</sup> as the name of a teacher. Reference to the name is found in the *Sāṅkhāyana Aranyaka*.<sup>6</sup> The mention of the Mamdavas in a Brāhmī inscription which reads as follows—"Gift of Kumāra Madava (Māṇḍava), son (?) of S (i) vama, the chief (?) para) of the Mamdavas (Māṇḍavas)"<sup>7</sup>, obviously carries an ethnical meaning just like the 'Māṇḍavānam' of Kuṭā inscription<sup>8</sup>. But the name starting from a geographical and ethnical meaning became fixed as a title of honour in certain families<sup>9</sup>.

A Pratihāra inscription tells us<sup>10</sup> that the Gurjaras who were ruling over Gurjarātrā<sup>11</sup> built a large rampart round the fort of Māṇḍavyapura which was gained by their own prowess<sup>12</sup>. Māṇḍavyapura as the name suggests was obviously the city of the Māṇḍavyas, the ancient capital of Marwar.<sup>13</sup> It is regarded as identical with modern Mandor, a ruined town in the State of Jodhpur, about 5 miles to the north of Jodhpur city. The date of the fort's foundation may

<sup>1</sup> Dr B C Law writes that the Bodhas were a people of the eastern districts of the Punjab (TAI p 397). For a full discussion on the Meds, see Elliot and Dowson, History of India I, pp 510-530.

<sup>2</sup> NHH ch III pp 43-44.

<sup>3</sup> Cunningham thinks that (AR III 116) the tribe is referred to in the Mungir plate of Devapāladova (EI XVIII 306) which reads as following — *puroga-mēdāndraka* etc (lines 36-7).

<sup>4</sup> Glossary, II, p 362.

<sup>5</sup> x 6.5.9.

<sup>6</sup> vi 2.

<sup>7</sup> Luders' List, No 1049 p 111.

<sup>8</sup> Inscriptions from the Cave-Temples of Western India, 1881, No 14.

<sup>9</sup> Jacobi, in Ind Ant, VII 254-257.

<sup>10</sup> EI XVIII 90-91.

<sup>11</sup> The Dohad inscription of the Chālukya King Jayasimha Deva, mentions distinctly the land of Gurjara, the metropolis of which was Anahilapāṭaka and distinguishes the country from Surāṣṭra, Mālava and Sindhu (IA X 160).

<sup>12</sup> EI XVIII 95, line 6 *Māṇḍavyapura-durgā*.

<sup>13</sup> IG XVII 171.

probably be placed in the sixth century A.D.<sup>1</sup> This may indicate that the Māṇḍavyas settled in Marwar and this position agrees well with what has been said of the Arimedhas.

#### 4) SĀLVAS

The name Sālva occurs in a *Sūtra* (IV.2.76) of Pāṇini and the scholiast adds that Vaidhūmāgni was a city of the Sālvas. Other *sūtras* of Pāṇini, as interpreted in the scholiastic work, show that the Sālva janapada consisted of six parts<sup>2</sup> (Pāṇ., IV. 1.173) and that the Sālvas belonged to the Kacchādi-gaṇa like the Kāśmīras and Kārūṣas (Pan. IV. 2.133; IV.1.169). In a Brāhmanical text the Sālvas are spoken of as dwelling on the banks of the Yamuna.<sup>3</sup> Cunningham thinks that the country of the Sālvas lay between the Sarasvatī and the Jumna and was adjacent to the Matsyas.<sup>4</sup> According to Pargiter the Sālva country was on the western side of the Aravali Hills;<sup>5</sup> their city Mārttikāvata having been situated on the north-eastern limits of the modern Guzerat.<sup>6</sup> But the chief city of the Sālvas may represent an original like Sālvapura which was perhaps changed into Salvar, then Halwar and finally into Alwar.<sup>7</sup>

In the *Mahābhārata* the Sālvas are most often coupled together with the Matsvas forming almost an identical pair,<sup>8</sup> and such combinations as *Sālvāmatsyāstathā*<sup>9</sup> refer to the intimate connection

<sup>1</sup> P. C. Chakravarty, *The Art of War in Ancient India*, p. 139, fn. 4; *Fl.* IX 278 fn 3

<sup>2</sup> The six parts are Udumbara, Tilakhala, Madrakāra, Yugandhara, Bhulūnga and Saradatta. In the *Varjayanī* Sālva is identified with Kārakutsiya and it is said that it consisted of six parts. Strangely enough, the same set of six names is given except that it reads Mahākāra and Śaradamda (VJN, p. 38. vs. 38-9) against Madrakāra and Saradatta.

<sup>3</sup> *Ved. Ind.* II 187

<sup>4</sup> AR XX 120.

<sup>5</sup> MP P 340, fn

<sup>6</sup> *Ib'd* 342, fn. The people of this city are linked with the Trigartas in a passage of the *Mahābhārata*. *Trigartān Mārttikāvataṇ* (vii, 68. 10). In the *Brhat-samh tā*, Mārttikāvata is grouped with Takṣaśā (XVI. 26) and Gāndhāra. Mārttikāvata is to be distinguished from Mrttikāvati which according to the *Mahābhārata* (iii 253 10) was to the south of Vatsabhūmi (*AIHT*, p. 269, fn. 4). In early Jaina books, Mattiāval, i.e., Mrttikāvati appears as the capital of Dasanna (see *infra* p 30, fn 2). According to the *Harivamśa* (136.15), it was situated on the bank of the river Narmadā. For a detailed discussion on the Mrttikāvatis See GDRD, pp. 39-40.

<sup>7</sup> AR XX 120; DD, p. ii. Other modes of deriving the name Alwar that are current, are from Alpūr or 'strong city' and Arbaipur or the city of the Arballi (Aravalli) range (*IG*, v. 267).

<sup>8</sup> vi. 20. 13: *Sālvāmatsyāḥ*.

<sup>9</sup> vi. 18. 12.



existing between the two tribes, and the contiguity of their respective territories.

The Matsyas are a familiar name in Indian ethnography which goes back even to the Vedic times<sup>1</sup>. The people and their capital city are mentioned in the Jaina *Prajñāpanā*, a work of great antiquity.<sup>2</sup> Their country flourished as one of the sixteen Mahā-

<sup>1</sup> vii. 18. 6. The theory that 'Matsya' in the Rgvedic passage means 'fish' is not supported by the context in which the word occurs (Ved. Ind., II. 121).

<sup>2</sup> The text is *Vairāda Vattha (Chchha)*. But Vattha is already mentioned in conjunction with Kosambi. So the text in the present case may be changed into Matsya instead of Vattha. It would thus appear that Matesu Vairāṭapuram is meant here (IA. XX. 375, fn. 64). In connection with Jaina Cosmography, Dr. W. Kirfel gives the full list of the Jaina *Upāṅga* styled the *Prajñāpanā* as framed by Weber in his *Indische studien*. But Dr. Kirfel has improved the list, by utilising the geographical details found in Nemicaṇḍra's *Pravacanasaṁvoddhāraprakaraṇa* where the chief cities of the different ethnic groups are also set forth. He has also made use of another text called *Ratnasāra*, which records the number of villages going under each name. The full list of Dr. Kirfel (DKDI, pp. 225-26) is reproduced below:—

*Namen der Völker*

Magadha

Aṅga

Vaṅga (Ratnasāra : Tilaṅga)

Kaliṅga

Kāśi

Kośala

Kuru

Kuśārāṭha (Ku-aṭṭha, Ratnasāra:

Kuśāvartta)

Pañcāla

Jaṅgala

Saurāṣṭra (Soraṭṭha)

Videha

Vaccha

Śāṇḍilya

Malaya

Vatsa (Vaccha, Nemicaṇḍra: Matsya,

Maccha; Ratnasāra refers to Vairāṭa people and Vacchā as their city).

Varaṇa

Daśārṇa (Dasarṇa)

Cedi (Cei, Ratnasāra: Vaidi)

Sindhu

Sauvira

Śūrasena

Bhṛṅga (Bhaṅga)

Kuṇḍala

Lāṭa (Lāṭa)

Kekaya (Kea-addha)

*Namen der Hauptstädte*

Rājagṛha (Rāyagīha)

Campā

Tāmrālipti (Tāmalitti)

Kāñcana-pura (Kañcana)

Bānū-rasi

Sāketa (Sāeya)

Gajapura (Gaya)

Saurika (Ratnasāra : Scripura)

Kāmpilya

Ahicchatra

Dvāravati (Bāravai)

Mithilā

Kauśāmbi

Nandipura

Bhaddilapura

Vairāṭa (pura) (Vairāṭa)

Acchā (purī)

Mṛttikāvati (Mattiāvai)

Śaktikāvati (Sottia-vai)

Vitabhaya (Viabhaya)

Mathura (Mahurā)

Pāpā (Pāvā)

Māsapurī

Śrāvastī (Sāvatthī)

Koṭṭivara (Koṭṭivarisa)

Svetambikā (Seaviā)

janapādas in the time of the Buddhist *Anguttara Nikāya*<sup>1</sup>. In the *Manu-smṛiti*, the Matsyas appear as one of the select few of the Aryan races who were noted for their devotion to Brahmanical ideals. The poet of the *Mahābhārata* similarly refers to the purity of their social and religious ideals<sup>2</sup>.

The Matsya-rājya<sup>3</sup> or Virāṭa-rājya of the *Mahābhārata* had its capital at Virāṭa-nagara, which has been identified with the modern town of Bairat,<sup>4</sup> 42 miles north by north-east of Jaipur city in Rajputana. The Matsyas had another city known as Upaplavya<sup>5</sup> which lay on the outskirt of Virāṭanagara.<sup>6</sup> All these show that the Matsya country centered round Bairat, including the modern States of Alwar, Jaipur and Bharatpur<sup>7</sup>. In this position the Matsyas were the neighbours of the Śālvas.

The earliest detailed account of the people and their country is that of the Chinese pilgrim, Hiuen Tsang, who visited the country, but did not refer to it by that name as such. His *P'o-li-ye-ta-lo* which undoubtedly represented the Matsya janapada is regarded as the same as Pāryātrā<sup>8</sup> now represented by Bairat in Rajputana, situated N. N. E. of Jaypur. He reached the kingdom going south-

<sup>1</sup> The Sixteen States, 'Solasa Mahājanapada' that existed in India during the days of the Buddha are mentioned in the *Anguttara N.kāya* (Pāli Text Society, Vol. 1, p. 213; iv, pp. 252, 256, 260). These were:— 1) Kāśī 2) Kosala 3) Aṅga 4) Magadha 5) Vajji 6) Malla 7) Cetrīya 8) Vamsa 9) Kuru 10) Pañcāla 11) Maccha 12) Sūrasena 13) Assaka 14) Avanti 15) Gandhāra 16) Kamboj. A short list of sixteen kingdoms is also found in the Jaina *Bhagavati sūtra*, which according to Dr W Kufel was more ancient than the longer list of the *Prajñāpanā* (DKDI, p. 225). The kingdoms were:—1) Aṅga 2) Vāṅga 3) Magadha (Magaha) 4) Malaya 5) Mālavaka (Mālavaya) 6) Accha 7) Vatsa (vaccha) 8) Koccha 9) Padha 10) Lādha (Rādha) 11) Vajji 12) Mālī or Molī 13) Kāśī 14) Kosala 15) Avāha 16) Sambhuttara.

<sup>2</sup> *Infra* p. 35.

<sup>3</sup> *Mbh* (B), iv. 6. 12.

<sup>4</sup> CL, p. 53. Bairāt is a place of very great antiquity: two inscriptions of Aśoka have been found within a mile of the town.

<sup>5</sup> *Mbh.*, iv. 72. 14.

<sup>6</sup> PHAI, p. 56. In the *Ain-i-Akbari* we read that the Subah of Dehli extended lengthwise from Palwal to Ludhianah. Palwal is supposed to have figured in the ancient texts under the name of Apelava. Does it refer to the Upaplavya of the *Mahābhārata*? It may be noted that Palwal (=Upaplavya) is mentioned as a Mahal of the Sarkār of Delhi (AIA. II, p. 278, fn. 2, p. 286). But Bīraṭ (Parāt) is mentioned as a Mahal of the Sarkār of Alwar in the Subah of Agra (AIA. II, p. 191). The city of Vairāt (Perāth) which existed in the time of Akbar was noted for its copper mines (AIA. II, p. 181).

<sup>7</sup> CL, p. 53.

<sup>8</sup> YC. I. p. 300.

west about 800 li from *She-to-t'u-lu* i.e. Sirhind<sup>1</sup>. Cunningham's opinion to read the distance as '1800' li instead of 800 li, seems to agree with the distance between Bairat and Sirhind which is about 220 miles if one li is reckoned as 1/8th of a mile.<sup>2</sup> But in the pilgrim's account, *P'o-li-ye-ta-lo* or Bairat is designated both as kingdom and its capital city, the former being about 3000 li in circuit and the latter about 14 or 15 li, or 3 miles in circuit.<sup>3</sup> Hiuen Tsang records<sup>4</sup> that grain grew abundant in the country, but there were few flowers and fruits. As for other features, he noticed that the people were resolute and fierce<sup>5</sup> who had no love for learning and dislike for the heretics. The king, a member of the Vaisya caste, was noted for his bravery and martial valour.

The Matsya tribe was divided into several branches, as such terms as Pūti Matsya, Aparā Matsya, Vīra Matsya and Yauti Matsya would indicate. The Pūti Matsyas may have been the same as the Eastern Matsyas who lived in the southern portion of Tirhoot<sup>6</sup>; the *Padma Purāna* seems to record this.<sup>7</sup> The Aparā Matsyas who are mentioned in the *Mahā-bhārata*,<sup>8</sup> probably lived on the north bank of the Chambal<sup>9</sup>. The country of the Vīra Matsyas, according to the *Rāmāyana*,<sup>10</sup> lay on the confluence of the Ganges and Sarasvatī. The position of the Yauti Matsyas mentioned in the Great Epic<sup>11</sup> is uncertain. Epigraphic evidence points to the existence of a Matsya kingdom in the Vizagapatam region.<sup>12</sup> Coorg in South India was the seat of a kingdom of this name.<sup>13</sup> It may be noted that there was also a Virāta-nagara in South India.<sup>14</sup>

The Matsya country was contiguous to the Śūrasena Janapada

<sup>1</sup> See infra.

<sup>2</sup> 1800 li divided by 8 gives us 225 miles. But Cunningham makes the total distance 288 miles the equivalent of 1800 li (CAGI, p. 166).

<sup>3</sup> This corresponds to the size of the ancient mound of vairāt which was about a mile in length and half a mile in breadth (YC, I, p. 300).

<sup>4</sup> BR, I, p. 179.

<sup>5</sup> It is said that the people of Virāta always enjoyed a great fame for their valour (Ibid. fn. 37). It was one of Manu's instructions that the van of an army should be composed of men of Matsya or Virāta (Manu, vii, 193).

<sup>6</sup> DD, p. 129.

<sup>7</sup> Svargakhanda, 3 48: *Pātimatsyāśca Kuntalāḥ kuśakastathā*.

<sup>8</sup> ii. 31. 4.

<sup>9</sup> JASB. 1895 p. 251.

<sup>10</sup> ii. 71. 5.

<sup>11</sup> Mbh (B), v. 4. 20.

<sup>12</sup> EI V. 108.

<sup>13</sup> DD, pp. 128-129.

<sup>14</sup> Bomb. Gaz., 1.2, p. 558.

on the north and east. The Buddhist *Āṅguttara Nikāya* combines the two *janapadas* of Maccha and Śūrasena, as *Mahābhārata* does these two ethnic names.<sup>1</sup>

The Śūrasenas are not mentioned in the Vedic literature but Brahmanical tradition connects them with the family of Yadu, a name which occurs in the *R̥gveda*.<sup>2</sup> Thus the *Harivamśa* states<sup>3</sup> that King Śūrasena of Mathurā, who was also known as Ugrasena belonged to the Bhoja family.<sup>4</sup> The Bhojas were one of the five sub-tribes constituting the Haihayas, who claimed descent from Yadu.<sup>5</sup> Another ancient tradition ascribes the country name to Satrugna's son Śūrasena.<sup>6</sup> Mention is made of the people and their chief city in a list of the Āriyas furnished by a Jaina *Upāṅga*,<sup>7</sup> which dates back 'to a remote period': *Mahurā ya Śūrasenā*.<sup>8</sup> Mahurā is the Sanskrit form of Mathurā, and was known to ancient writers under a variety of designations.<sup>9</sup> According to the *Harivamśa* it was the capital of Śūrasena,<sup>10</sup> and was situated on the bank of the Yamunā : *nibiṣṭā yamunātīre sphītā janapadāyutā*.<sup>11</sup> Manu writes<sup>12</sup> that the Śūrasenas were a people of Madhya-deśa particularly of Brahmarśideśa; and so occupied a position of great importance in Indo-Aryan Society.<sup>13</sup> The Greek writers refer to Sourasenoi and the cities Methora and Cleisobora; the former being

<sup>1</sup> II. 31. 1-2, iv. 1. 11. *Matsyāśca Śūrasenāh Paṭuccarāh*.

<sup>2</sup> Ved. Ind., II. 185.

<sup>3</sup> HV. i. 33. 56

<sup>4</sup> HV. i. 54. 62-63

<sup>5</sup> CH. I. 316. Prof. Rapson says that the Haihayas, Āsmakas and Vītihoṭras, like the Śūrasenas belonged to the great family of the descendants of Yadu.

<sup>6</sup> AIHT, p. 171.

<sup>7</sup> IA. XX. 375; supra p. 30, fn. 2.

<sup>8</sup> Mahurā is evidently Mathurā and in Prākṛit we come across such forms as Madhurā (Luder's List No. 1345, p. 161) and Mathulā (Ibid. No. 937, p. 95). The natives of Mathurā were called Māthuras (Ibid. No. 85, p. 17). Muttra city is on the right bank of the Jumna on the road from Agra to Delhi. But in the list of the *Upāṅga* prepared by Dr. Kirsfel mention is made of Pāpā (Pāvā) as the capital of Śūrasena (See supra p. 30).

<sup>9</sup> Thus the lexicographer Yādavaprakāśa writes that Madhurā which was also known as Madhūṣikā, Mathurā and Madhūpaghnā was situated in Śūrasena (VJN, p. 159, v. 6). Hemacandra knows of Madhurā and Madhūpaghnā as being the synonyms for Mathurā (Abhidhāna, p. 390), while Puruṣottamadeva (TKS, p. 32) states that Mathurā is Madhūpaghnā.

<sup>10</sup> HV. ii. 34. 22.

<sup>11</sup> HV. i. 54. 21. For a long description of Mathurā see verses 56-62.

<sup>12</sup> ii. 19.

<sup>13</sup> B. C. Law, Ancient Mid-Indian Kṣatriya tribes (Thacker Spink & Co.), Vol. I. pp. 80 ff.

known to Ptolemy as 'Modoura of the Gods.'<sup>1</sup> The Śūrasenas occupied "the Muttra district and probably some of the territory still farther south." In our list of the Madhya-deśa peoples, the name Śūrasenas occurs (No. 18) along with the Māthurakas (No. 15) which shows that the two names were synonymous and were convertible.<sup>2</sup> Vātsyāyana in his *Kāmasūtra* (3rd Century A.D.) refers to the Śūrasenas<sup>3</sup> but the information underlying the allusion shows that they had lost the ancient purity in their manners and customs. Manu, however, characterised them as an ideal people, the best representatives of Brahmanical culture.<sup>4</sup> It is just possible that the degradation as noticed by Vātsyāyana, was due to the intercourse of the Śūrasenas with the Greeks who had occupied that region in the early years of the second century B.C., as alluded to in the *Gārgī-saṁhitā*: "Then the viciously valiant Greeks, after reducing Sāketa, Pañcāla country and Mathura, will reach or take Kusumadhvaja (Pali-bothra)."<sup>5</sup>

In the time of Hiuen Tsang it was a rich and fertile country, where cultivation was properly attended to and grain grew in abundance. The manners of the ancient Śūrasenakas or Māthurakas were 'soft and complacent.' They set themselves assiduously to the cultivation of religious merit and were highly virtuous and honest.

The Śūrasenas, the Matsyas and the Pañcālas formed a group of people whose territories were contiguous to each other. It is made clear in the *Mahābhārata*,<sup>6</sup> where it is stated that the Pāṇḍava brothers while travelling in disguise, left the Pañcāla country and the river Kālindī; and then passing through the Śūrasena country finally arrived in the Matsya-*viṣaya*. The Matsyas and Pañcālas are very commonly grouped together in the Great Epic, having ordinarily as their companions the Kekayas. Such combinations as 'Matsyapāñcāla Kekayaḥ,'<sup>7</sup> 'Kaikeyāmatsya Pāñcāla,'<sup>8</sup> or 'Pañcāler-matsya'<sup>9</sup> and similar other statements,<sup>10</sup> throw light on the tradi-

<sup>1</sup> MT. p. 129.

<sup>2</sup> In the *Vaijayantī*, Śūrasena is equated with (VJN, p. 37, v. 24) Saṁbhāla—a name which does not seem to have been known to other writers.

<sup>3</sup> Yaśodhara in his commentary says that they were settled on the southern bank of the river Kauśambī (VKS, p. 411).

<sup>4</sup> Bühler, *Laws of Manu*, pp. 82-83.

<sup>5</sup> Kern, *Bṛhat-saṁhitā*, Intro. p. 37 et seq. For a detailed history of Mathurā see TAI, pp. 40-45.

<sup>6</sup> iv. 5. 4 ff.

<sup>7</sup> Mbh (B), vii. 39. 18.

<sup>8</sup> Ibid. vii. 36. 19.

<sup>9</sup> Ibid. vii. 138. 3.

<sup>10</sup> Ibid. v. 54. 17; vii. 144. 103.

tional inter-relationship of the peoples mentioned. But of all these peoples, the Kurus were the closest neighbours of the Pañcālas with whom they were perhaps united in the time of the Brāhmaṇas<sup>1</sup>, for they are rarely referred to except being coupled with the Kurus<sup>2</sup>, who occupied Delhi and the adjoining portion of the Gangetic-Doab—a belt of territories which thus abutted on the Pañcāla Janapada.

The Kuru country was the centre from which Indo-Aryan culture spread throughout the whole country. In many texts the Kurus and their associates, the Pañcālas, “pass as the models of good form” their kings being the example for other kings, their Brahmanas being famous in the literature of the *Upaniṣads*.<sup>3</sup> To this group, belonged the Matsyas and Śūrasenas, who shared with the Kurus and Pañcālas, the holy spot called Brahmarṣi-deśa. They were the four great peoples, whom tradition invests with all that is best in Brahmanical culture. The poet of the *Māhābhārata*, gives a very pointed expression to the sense of regard and esteem felt for them when he says:—

*“Brāhmaṇaṃ Pañcālāḥ Kauraveyāstu Dharmam  
Satyam Matsyāḥ Śūrasenāśca yajñam”*.<sup>4</sup>

According to ethnographical tradition recorded in the Purāṇas, the Central Zone of India from Bihar up to Rajputana, which lay skirting the banks of the Jumuna, belonged to the Vāsava kings; a sub-line of the Kaurava dynasty. A Kaurava prince called Vasa conquered Cedi,<sup>5</sup> and obtained the title ‘*Caidyo paricara*’, the overcomer of the caidyas.<sup>6</sup> He established each of his five sons in five separate kingdoms. Thus the eldest son Brāhadrath took Magadha,

<sup>1</sup> Ved. Ind., I. 165, and fn 1; Mbh; vi. 39.

<sup>2</sup> Cf. Ait. Brah, viii. 14.

<sup>3</sup> CH. I 118; Ved. Ind., I. 165.

<sup>4</sup> viii. 45. 28 The notice given by Hiuen Tsang of the Kanyākubja country and its people is worth quoting inasmuch as, it gives us a glimpse of the people who in all probability represented the Pañcālas. He says “The flowers and weeds, the lakes and ponds, bright and pure and shining like mirrors, (are seen on every side). The people are well off and contented, the houses are rich and well found. Flowers and fruits abound in every place. The climate is agreeable and soft, the manners of the people honest and sincere. They are noble and gracious in appearance. For clothing they use ornamented and bright-shining (fabrics). They apply themselves much to learning, and in their travels are very much given to discussion (on religious subjects). (The fame of) their pure language is far spread”. (BR, I. pp. 206-207).

<sup>5</sup> The country name Cedi, according to tradition was derived, from Cidi a Yādava prince (AIHT, p. 272).

<sup>6</sup> This form of the name is found in an inscription (IA, VIII. 15-16). Cf. The Chetiya Jātaka, No. 422.

Pratyagrahā repaired to Cedi, Kaśa or Kuśāmba evidently had Kauśāmbhī<sup>1</sup>, Lalittha's share was Karuṣa, and the fifth one is said to have taken Māthailya or Māruta, which in all probability must be the Matsya realm<sup>2</sup>. Tradition thus links up Magadhas, Kārūṣas, Cedis, Vatsas and Matsyas into one ethnic and political group; just as the belt of Eastern peoples such as the Angas, Vāṅgas, Kalingas, Puṇḍras and Suhmas were grouped into another by a similar tradition. From a geographical point of view this position as outlined seems to be quite in order. The Great Epic furnishes a short list of the Madhya-deśa Janapadas, which are described as lying particularly around the Kuru realm:<sup>3</sup>

*Santi ramyā janapadā bahvannāḥ paritah Kurūna*  
*Pāñcālāścedimatsyāśca Śūrasenāḥ Paṭaccarāḥ*  
*Daśārṇā Navarāstrāśca Mallāḥ Śālva Yugandharāḥ*  
*Kuntirāṣṭram suvistānam Surāstrāvantayastathā.*

This statement presents certain irregularities, for all these tribal Janapadas were not situated encircling the Kurus from a regional point of view. Surāstra, Avanti and Daśārṇa lay far off from the Kuru realm. The geographical location of some of these tribes, as attempted before, shows that Śālva, Matsya, Śūrasena and Pañcāla Janapadas were situated 'paritah Kurūn'. The Cedi realm did never abut on any point on the Kuru country; the Janapadas of Matsya, Śūrasena and Pañcāla had shut out the Cedi country from the plains of Thanesar and Delhi. But Cedis were the neighbours of the Pañcālas and the Matsyas, on the north and west respectively, and so the combination 'Pāñcālāścedimatsyāśca' agrees well with the geographical setting. Again, in the Great Epic, the Cedis are invariably coupled with the Matsyas and Kārūṣas, their neighbours on the west and east respectively. Such combinations as 'Cedimatsyānām'<sup>4</sup> and 'Cedimatsya-Karūṣāśca'<sup>5</sup> are copiously mentioned.<sup>6</sup> Sometimes the Matsyas are omitted and replaced by the Kāśis resulting in groupings like 'Cedi-Kāśi-Karūṣāmām' which are by no

<sup>1</sup> Tradition records the Kuru origin of the kings of Kauśāmbhī, for the elder line of Kuru kings moved there when Hāstinapura was threatened by the erosion of the Ganges (PHAI p 20 and 38).

<sup>2</sup> AIHT, pp 118 and 294.

<sup>3</sup> Mbh, iv. 111-12

<sup>4</sup> Mbh (B), v. 69.16.

<sup>5</sup> Ibid. vi. 54. 8.

<sup>6</sup> Ibid. vi. 39. 39 ff. See S. B. Chaudhuri—'Cedis'—in IHQ, XXVII, Sept. 1951, p. 250 ff.

means rare.<sup>1</sup> This shows that Cedi, Kāśī, Kārūṣa, or Cedi, Matsya, Kārūṣa, was a compact ethnic group.

The Kārūṣas<sup>2</sup>, were the eastern neighbours of the Cedis. Their origin is carried directly back to an eponymous ancestor Karūṣa, one of the nine sons of Manu, from whom numerous Kṣatriya clans sprang up. The Kārūṣas, according to the *Bhāgavata Purāṇa*, were the defenders both of their faith (Brahmanical religion) and their realm, (Uttarāpatha) and they were also determined fighters.<sup>3</sup> Later on, the Kārūṣa country may have fallen into the hands of a Vāsava prince as mentioned before. According to the scholiast on Pāṇini, the Karūṣas are alluded to along with the Śālvas and Bhargas by the grammarian<sup>4</sup> in the *sūtra* IV.1.178. At a later age the name occurs in the works of mediaeval lexicographers, such as Hemacandra, Yādavaprakāśa and Puruṣottamadeva as a synonym of Brhadgrha.<sup>5</sup> In the *Kāvya-mīmāṃsā*, Brhadgrha is given as the name of a mountain of Pūrva-deśa<sup>6</sup>. The Kārūṣas lived in a hilly country in which Rewa<sup>7</sup> occupied a central position<sup>8</sup>, corresponding perhaps to the Baghelkhand region. In this position, it lay to the south of the Kāśis, between the Cedis on the west, and the Magadhas on the east, thus encircling the Kaimur Range which strikes across Baghelkhand from south-west to north-east. On the east, the Kārūṣa country must have extended upto the western confines of south Bihar, and even included the Shahabad District.<sup>9</sup> The *Brahmaṇḍa Purāṇa*<sup>10</sup> says that Vedagarbhapuri, which is the modern Buxar, was situated in Kārūṣa. A nineteenth century epigraph indicates that even at that time the Shahabad District was called the Kārūṣadeśa.<sup>11</sup>

A tradition recorded in the *Rāmāyana* groups the Kārūṣas and

<sup>1</sup> Mbh (B), i. 117.44; v. 186.2; vi. 47.4.

<sup>2</sup> In the *Harṣa-carita* (Trans. by Cowell and Thomas, p. 193) we have the form Karūṣas.

<sup>3</sup> *Bhāgavata Purāṇa*, ix 2. 14ff; AIHT, p 255. A passage of the *Harivamśa* which refers to this runs thus: *Karūṣasya tu Kārūṣāḥ Kṣatriyā Yuddhadurmmadāḥ* (i. 10.29).

<sup>4</sup> See supra p. 29.

<sup>5</sup> *Abhidhāna*, p. 383; VJN, p. 38, v. 36; TKS, p. 31.

<sup>6</sup> *Kāvya*, p. 93.

<sup>7</sup> The earliest inhabitants of the State of Rewa are said to have been the Bālands, the Bolingae of Ptolemy who have left their name in the town of Balwaniya, 35 miles to the S. SE. of Mirzapore (AR. XXI. 92).

<sup>8</sup> MP, p. 341.

<sup>9</sup> DD, p. 95.

<sup>10</sup> *Purva khaṇḍa*, ch. 5.

<sup>11</sup> AR. III. 70.



the Maladas together, and traces the origin of the two names to a common mythology.<sup>1</sup> It is stated that the region to the south of the Jāhnavī was covered with dense forest, where there were two flourishing Janapadas of the name of Malada and Kārūṣa<sup>2</sup>: *Mala-dāśca Kārūṣāśca muditā dhana dhānyataḥ*.<sup>3</sup> The indication is here to the region lying south of the Ganges, from its junction with the Jumna as far as the Shahabad District; for the Gangetic basin in Bihar was a country of plains, besides being the name of well-known peoples like the Magadhas and the Aṅgas. This location of the Kārūṣa and Malada Janapadas in a forest country, obviously refers to the Baghelkhand tract, particularly its eastern portion which "is a rough hilly tract cut up by a succession of long parallel ridges belonging to the Vindhyan system, heavily clothed in jungle"<sup>4</sup> It thus follows that the Malada-Karūṣa, embraced a great portion of the modern Baghelkhand-Mirzapur-Shahabad region.

#### 5) NIPAS

They are a forgotten people of Indian ethnography. The references to them in the *Mahābhārata* are not very conclusive. Mention is made of *Nīpa vaṁśa*, and another passage records Janamejaya's connection with it.<sup>5</sup> Elsewhere Nīpa is treated as a country like Anūpa<sup>6</sup>, and in the *Bhīṣma Parva* list Nīpa is described as a country of the south.<sup>7</sup> But the *Harivaṁśa* clearly states that king Nīpa was a scion of the Paurava family (*'Pauravāṇvaya'*),<sup>8</sup> and was ruling over the Pañcāla country.<sup>9</sup> Pargiter points out that a Paurava king called Nīpa had his capital in Kāmpilya.<sup>10</sup> He might have been the progenitor of the race,<sup>11</sup> for the *Matsya Purāṇa* says that to him hundred sons were born known as Nīpas: *Nīpā iti samākhyātā rājānaḥ sarva eva te*<sup>12</sup>. It is further said that king

<sup>1</sup> Rām., i, ch. 24.

<sup>2</sup> Ibid. i. 24. 12-13.

<sup>3</sup> Ibid. v. 25.

<sup>4</sup> IG. VI. 185.

<sup>5</sup> Mbb (B), ii. 8. 22; v. 69. 13.

<sup>6</sup> Ibid. ii. 49. 20.

<sup>7</sup> Ibid. vi. 9. 63.

<sup>8</sup> HV, i. 21. 41.

<sup>9</sup> HV, i. 20. 44-45.

<sup>10</sup> MP, p. 350, fn.

<sup>11</sup> AHT, p. 117.

<sup>12</sup> 49. 52-53.

Ugrāyudha extinguished the race of the Nīpas<sup>1</sup>. In the *Raghu-vamśa* a Nīpa king is described as the Lord of Śūrasena.<sup>2</sup>

#### 6) UJJIHANAS

The reference is here to the people of a small locality. The *Rāmāyaṇa* mentions a place called Ujjihānā<sup>3</sup> and the indications are that it was somewhere in the Upper Gangetic Plain; for Bharata passed through it in course of his journey from Rājagṛha to Ayodhyā after he had crossed the Ganges, and advanced considerably towards Ayodhyā. The name in the epic clearly refers to the Ujjihānas of our list. Ujhānī, a town in the district of Budaun (U.P.) lying 8 miles west of the town of that name, is very plainly a contracted form of Ujjihāna, and this identity is supported by other considerations. According to tradition, the modern town of Ujhānī was originally called Pipariā, from a number of Pīpal trees found there.<sup>4</sup> Curiously enough, the *Rāmāyaṇa* has a reference to this: *Udyānamujjihāṇāyāḥ priyakā yatra pādapāḥ*.<sup>5</sup>

#### 7) SANKHYĀTAS

They seem to be an old people, a forgotten sub-line of the Bharata tribe, known as the Sāṅkrātas of Sāṅkrtyas,<sup>6</sup> who according to Pargiter are to be connected with the river Carmanvati (Chambal). Their king Rantideva Sāṅkrṭi a Paurava<sup>7</sup> had his capital at Daśapura, which lay on the river Chambal. In the Great Epic mention is made of a people called Utsaba-saṅketas in connection with a city of the Pauravas.<sup>8</sup> They were conquered by Arjuna somewhere in the north, and are described as a group of seven peoples. Elsewhere they are described as great heroes who were conquered by Nakula somewhere in the west.<sup>9</sup>

#### 8) MARUS

Maru is mentioned in the *Taittirīya Āraṇyaka*,<sup>10</sup> and usually refers to the desert country of Rajputana. Other such terms carrying a similar geographical meaning are Marusthalī, Marubhūmi and

<sup>1</sup> Ibid. v. 60. Also Hv, i 20. 32ff.

<sup>2</sup> vi. 45-46.

<sup>3</sup> Rām., ii. 71. 12.

<sup>4</sup> IG. XXIV. 112.

<sup>5</sup> Rām., ii. 71. 12.

<sup>6</sup> AIHT. p. 7.

<sup>7</sup> Ibid. p. 274.

<sup>8</sup> ii. 27. 16.

<sup>9</sup> ii. 32. 9. In the *Bhīṣma Parva* list of the *Mahābhārata* the name Utsaba-Saṅketa occurs as a Janapada of the South (vi. 9. 61).

<sup>10</sup> Ved. Ind., II. 135.

Marudhanva.<sup>1</sup> The people may have been the same as Marohae of Pliny,<sup>2</sup> and in the Junagad inscription of Rudradāma the country named Maru is placed between Śvabhra (the Sabarmati region) and Kachcha (Cutch).<sup>3</sup> This points to the southern portion of Rajputana near the Rann of Cutch. In the Ghatiyala inscription of Kakkuka, mention is made of a country called Māda—the ancient name of the Jaisalmer State.<sup>4</sup> In another inscription, Māda is put in conjunction with Maru, which presumably stood for the Jodhpur State.<sup>5</sup> The two names when put together gives the form Maru-Māda, the nearest approach to the word Mārwar<sup>6</sup> of modern times. The geographical application of the term Maru-Māda was perhaps restricted to the two states of Jaisalmer and Jodhpur, which by their sterile and dreary appearances<sup>7</sup> clearly bear out the meaning of the words Maru and Māda. A Jaina work of the 12th century A.D. calls the people of Mārwar as Mārwaḍis, a surprisingly modern term for that age; and describes them as “wearing long locks of hair on their unshaven heads.”<sup>8</sup>

#### 9) VATSAS

They were a famous people of ‘Vedic Aryandom’, the same as the Vaśas of the Brāhmanical literature,<sup>9</sup> who according to the *Aitareya Brāhmaṇa* lived in the ‘*Dhruva Madhyamādik*’ along with the Uśīnaras and Kuru-Pañcālas.<sup>10</sup> Purāṇic tradition records that Vatsa obtained its name from a Kāśī prince called Vatsa, who annexed the country round Kauśāmbī and called it Vatsa.<sup>11</sup> Kauśāmbī, the chief city of the Vatsa country,<sup>12</sup> existed even in the time of the *Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa*.<sup>13</sup> A different tradition attributes the foundation of the city to Kaśa or Kuśāmba, son of a Kaurava

<sup>1</sup> DD, p. 127.

<sup>2</sup> MM. pp. 146-47.

<sup>3</sup> EI. VIII. 44, line 11

<sup>4</sup> EI. IX. 278.

<sup>5</sup> EI. IX. 278.

<sup>6</sup> The inscriptional form Mārava in all probability stood for Mārwar (DD. p. 120). A Jaina work of the 12th century A.D. refers to Mārvaḍdeśa (IA. IV. 112).

<sup>7</sup> IG XIV. 179.

<sup>8</sup> IA IV. 76-77.

<sup>9</sup> Law, op cit p 117.

<sup>10</sup> viii. 14.

<sup>11</sup> AIHT, pp 260-70.

<sup>12</sup> KSSR, I, p. 5, 51

<sup>13</sup> Ved. Ind., I 193.

prince called Vasu, the conqueror of Cedi.<sup>1</sup> The Kaurava origin of the kings of Kausāmbī is also referred to in other texts.<sup>2</sup> But the Lord of Vatsa of the *Kathā-S-Sāgara*, who is almost the central figure in the ocean of stories is stated to have sprung from the Pāṇḍava family.<sup>3</sup>

The Vatsa country was the Vatsabhūmi of the *Mahābhārata*,<sup>4</sup> Vamsa *Mahājanapada* of the *Anguttara Nikāya*, Vacchha of the Jaina *Bhagavatī Sūtra*,<sup>5</sup> and Vattavaṇ of Tamil texts.<sup>6</sup> It embraced the whole of the triangular wedge of land, enclosed by the converging channels of the Ganges and the Jumna i.e. the modern Allahabad, including also a considerable portion of the trans-Jumna tract on the south, and the trans-Gangetic tract on the north. The capital city Kausāmbī,<sup>7</sup> is regarded as identical with the village Kosam<sup>8</sup> on the left bank of the Yamunā, about 30 miles to the south-west of Allahabad.<sup>9</sup>

Kausāmbī was one of the most sacred cities of ancient India to both Hindus and Buddhists.<sup>10</sup> In the *Abhidhānappaddī-pikā* it is included in the list of twenty ancient cities of India;<sup>11</sup> and down to the time of Buddha's death it was considered as one of the six great cities of India.<sup>12</sup> To Hiuen Tsang, *Kiao-shangmi* or Kausāmbī was the name of a kingdom<sup>13</sup> about 6000 li in circuit :

<sup>1</sup> AIHT, p. 118 and 294

<sup>2</sup> PHAI, p. 20 and 98

<sup>3</sup> KSSR, I, p. 51. 101

<sup>4</sup> vi 253. 10.

<sup>5</sup> Supra p. 31, fn. I.

<sup>6</sup> IA XXII. 143

<sup>7</sup> IA XX 375 *Vatthā (Chchha) Kosambī*.

<sup>8</sup> It is situated in 25° 20' N. and 81° 24' E. An inscription mentions the name Kosamv(b)ī Grāman (EI I. 41, vs. 15).

<sup>9</sup> But if the distance as recorded by Hiuen Tsang is correct the famous Buddhist town must be looked for at some distance of about 90 miles from Allahabad in a direction between south and west, somewhere in the valley of the Tons river (YC, I, pp. 366-67) Daya Ram Sahni in a paper on 'Kausāmbī' (JRAS. 1927, p. 689 ff.) identifies the famous city with modern Kosam. He thus rejects Smith's view and accepts Cunningham's theory

<sup>10</sup> For ancient Kausāmbī see Memoirs of the Arch. Surv. of India, No. 60.

<sup>11</sup> These ancient cities were:—1) Bārāṇasi 2) Sāvattthī 3) Vesālī 4) Mithilā 5) Ālavī 6) Kosambhī 7) Ujjenī 8) Takkasilā 9) Champā 10) Sāgala 11) Sumsumāragira 12) Rājagaha 13) Kapilavattthu 14) Sāketa 15) Indapaṭṭa 16) Ukkatṭha 17) Pāṭaliputtaka 18) Jettuttara 19) Saṁkassa 20) Kusinārā (*Abhidhānappaddīpikā of Moggallān Thera*, ed. by Munī Jina Vijaya, Guzerat Parātatva Mandir, Ahmedabad, p. 32).

<sup>12</sup> The cities were:—Rājagṛha, Śrāvastī, Sāketa, Kausāmbī, Kāśī, Champā (*Mahāparinibbāna Sutta*, SBE, xi. 99).

<sup>13</sup> BH, p. 91.

which he reached proceeding south-west from Prayag after a journey of about 500 li (about 100 miles).<sup>1</sup> Mention of *Kosamvapatilā* in a Grant of Jayachandra of Kanauj,<sup>2</sup> and of *Kauśāmba-maṇḍala* in Karra inscription of Yaśahpāla<sup>3</sup> tends to indicate that the country west-north-west of Allahabad between the Ganges and Jumna rivers formed a part of the mediaeval *Kauśāmbī* kingdom;<sup>4</sup> which in all probability was equivalent to the ancient territory of the Vatsas. Hemacandra also considered the two terms synonymous: *Kauśāmbī Vatsapattanam*.<sup>5</sup> Accordingly, Hiuen Tsang's description of *Kauśāmbī* refers to the ancient Vatsa country. The land, he says, was famous for its productiveness.<sup>6</sup> Early Buddhist writers similarly refer to the prosperity of the *Vaṃsa* country which was very rich and full of gems and diamonds.<sup>7</sup> Kauṭilya records that the Vatsa country produced the finest cotton fabrics.<sup>8</sup> But the people, according to the Chinese traveller, also pursued learning. They were very earnest in their religious life, and were intensely pious.

## 10. GHOṢAS

It is more a professional than an ethnographical expression. The territorial name of the *Ghoṣa* country may take such forms as *Ghoṣa-vāsa* or *Gopa-vāsa*, or even *Go-kula*, the famous 'pastoral district on the Yamunā near Mathura'.<sup>9</sup> A passage of the *Mahābhārata* alludes to such names<sup>10</sup>: *Pallārghoṣān Samṛddhāṃśca bahu gokula saṅkulān*. The *Harivaṃśa*<sup>11</sup> refers to the colony of cowherds at *Bṛndāvan* near Mathura, which developed into a flourishing Janapada of the *Ghoṣas*, and in fact the *Ghoṣa* community of *Bṛndāvan* is famous in ancient Indian mythology and tradition.<sup>12</sup>

<sup>1</sup> YC, I, p. 365.

<sup>2</sup> IA. XVIII 13 It is also mentioned in the Goharwa plates of Karnaadeva (EI. XI. 141).

<sup>3</sup> EI. XI. 141.

<sup>4</sup> The Tirodi plates of Pravarasena (EI. XXII. 168) refer to a *Kośāmba-khāṇḍa* of the Balaghat district of the Central Provinces.

<sup>5</sup> Abh.dhān, p. 389; see also TKS, p. 32.

<sup>6</sup> BR, I, p. 235.

<sup>7</sup> *Aṅguttara Nikāya*, IV, pp. 252, 256, 260

<sup>8</sup> AS, p. 94.

<sup>9</sup> Dowson, Classical Dictionary, 1879, p. 115.

<sup>10</sup> xii. 325. 20.

<sup>11</sup> ii. chs. 7, 8 and 9.

<sup>12</sup> The name *Ghoṣa* is essentially connected with any cowman or milk-seller although he may belong to a different tribe. Thus an *Ahīr* of Delhi is also known as *Ghoṣi* and usually claims descent from Nandji, the adopted father of *Kṛṣṇa* (*Kaṇhyāji*). Glossary, II, p. 7.

## 11. YĀMUNAS

Pargiter suggests that this people lived in that portion of the Himalayan region, where the river Yamunā has its sources.<sup>1</sup> In the *Bhāgavata Purāṇa*<sup>2</sup> the Yāmuna country is placed between Śūrasena and Brahmāvarta.

## 12. SĀRASVATAS

They are the *Sārasvatā ganāh* of the *Mahābhārata*,<sup>3</sup> and settled near the famous river of that name which lost itself in the sands: "*Gacchatyantarhitā yatra Merupṛṣṭhe Sarasvatī*."<sup>4</sup>

That the river in question entered the earth, and got dried up is made even more clear in another passage:

*Dvāraṁ Niśādarāṣṭrasya yeṣāṁ dveṣāt Sarasvatī  
Prthivīm vīra mā Niśāda-hi mām viduḥ.*<sup>5</sup>

Consequently the river earned the name of *Vinaśana*; and another passage alluding to it runs thus:

*Tato Vinaśanam rājan jagāmāthahalāyudhah  
Sūdrābhīrām prati dveṣād yatranastā Sarasvatī.*<sup>6</sup>

The river is mentioned in the *Rgveda* as a flowing river.<sup>7</sup> It rises in the hills of Sirmur in the Himalayan range, and then, falls into the plains of Ambala. Near Pehoa, Sarsūti<sup>8</sup> is joined by the Mārkaṇḍā, and the united stream bearing still the name of Sarasvatī (Sarsūti) ultimately joins the Ghaggar at a place called Ber.<sup>9</sup> This united stream of the Sarasvatī and Ghaggar<sup>10</sup> is believed to have been the ancient Sarasvatī,<sup>11</sup> which flows past Sirsa the town of the subdivision of the same name, in Hissar district, Punjab. The old town of Sirsa,<sup>12</sup> also called Sarsūti,<sup>13</sup> still stands 'on the north side of a dry bed of the Ghaggar'.<sup>14</sup> So the region where the river Sarasvatī disappeared in the sands of the desert, and earned the name *Vinaśana*, is the same as the area round Sirsa.<sup>15</sup> This town is also regarded as identical with the Sarasvatī-

<sup>1</sup> MP, pp 377-78. Cf Mbh, xiii 68 3: *Yāmunaśya gireradihaḥ*

<sup>2</sup> i. 10. 31.

<sup>3</sup> Mbh (B) , v. 57. 23.

<sup>4</sup> Mbh., iii 82 111.

<sup>5</sup> Ibid. iii. 130 3-4

<sup>6</sup> Ibid. ix 37. 1.

<sup>7</sup> In the Vedic period it was a large river and flowed into the sea (Max Muller's *Rgveda Samhitā*, p 46). See also ABORI. XXIX. 125, fn.

<sup>8</sup> Alberuni informs us that Sarasvatī was the same as Sarsūti and that it took its rise from the pond Vignupada, near the mountain Nishada (AI, II 142).

<sup>9</sup> Punjab Gazetteer, Ambala Dt., ch. 1.

<sup>10</sup> Also called Pāvanī. DD, p. 155

<sup>11</sup> JRAS. 1898, p 51.

<sup>12</sup> Situated in 29° 32' N and 75° 2' E

<sup>13</sup> IG. XXIII. 45.

<sup>14</sup> Ibid.

<sup>15</sup> JRAS. 1898, p. 51.

nagara of the *Mahābhārata*,<sup>1</sup>—presumably the chief city of the *Sārasvatas* of our list.<sup>2</sup>

From the texts cited above, it is evident that the Sirsa country was the gate of *Niṣāda-rāṣṭra*,<sup>3</sup> and the home as well, of other peoples like the *Śūdras* and *Ābhīras*. According to Bühler *Niṣāda* corresponds to Hissar and Bhatnir.<sup>4</sup> But the *Niṣādas* are also connected with the *Pāripātra* or *Pāriyātra* Mountain,<sup>5</sup> which according to tradition was one of the *Kulaparvatas*.<sup>6</sup> The mountain is mentioned as *Pārichāla* in the Nasik Praśasti of Gautami-putra *Śātakarṇi*,<sup>7</sup> and is regarded as identical with the western portion of the Vindhya mountain, west of Bhopal, including also the southern spurs of the Aravalli range.<sup>8</sup> The *Niṣādas*, therefore, lived in the Western Vindhya, which agrees well with the reference that is made of *Niṣāda* in the Junagad Rock Inscription of Rudradāman.<sup>9</sup> Dr. B. C. Law thinks that the *Niṣāda* kingdom of the *Rāmāyaṇa* had its capital at *Śrngaverapura*.<sup>10</sup>

The *Niṣādas* are copiously referred to in the whole range of Sanskrit literature. As an aboriginal tribe they must have lived in the different parts of India. From the *Manu-saṃhitā*<sup>11</sup> we learn that a *Niṣāda* was the offspring of a Brahman father and a *Śūdra* mother<sup>11</sup>; and that his profession was usually that of a fisherman.<sup>12</sup> The *Kathā-S-Sāgara* similarly records that they were fishermen, and

<sup>1</sup> DD, p. 181.

<sup>2</sup> *Sārasvata-maṇḍala* of the Grants of the *Aphilvād* Chalukyas (I.A. VI. 101, line 7) refers to the region round the river of that name in Gujarat.

<sup>3</sup> Alberuni knows of the contiguity of Mount *Niṣāda* to the source of the *Sarasvatī* (AI. II. 142).

<sup>4</sup> IA. VII. 268. The *Kathā-S-Sāgara* refers to a *Niṣāda* country of the north situated in the bosom of the *Himalayas* (II, p. 368 & 415) and also to an island of the name of *Utsthala* where dwelt a king of the *Niṣādas* (I, p. 206).

<sup>5</sup> Mbh., xii. 135. 3-5.

<sup>6</sup> These mountains are:—*Mahendro Malayah Sahyāh Śuktīmān Rkṣa parvatah Vindhyaśca Pāripātraśca Saptāivātra Kulācalāh* (Mbh., vi. 9. 11; Märk, 57. 10). In the *Bārhaspatya Arthasāstra*, the *sūtra* referring to the *Kulācalas* runs thus:—*Tatrāpi Raivataka Vindhyaśahyakumāramalaya Śrīparvata Pāriyātrāh saptakulācalāh* (F. W. Thomas, op. cit. p. 20, *Sūtra* No. 81).

<sup>7</sup> EI. VIII. 61.

<sup>8</sup> MP, p. 286. For *Pāriyātras*, see B. C. Law in IC. III 733-36.

<sup>9</sup> The inscription furnishes a list of place names over which his power may have extended. They are:—*Purvāpar-Ākar-Āvanti, Anupanivṛt, Anartta, Surāstra, Śvabhra, Maru, Kaccha, Sindhu-Sauvira-Kukura, Aparānta, Niṣāda* (EI. VIII. 44, line 11).

<sup>10</sup> TAI, p. 90.

<sup>11</sup> x. 8.

<sup>12</sup> x. 48.

sons of female slaves.<sup>1</sup> The *Mahābhārata* puts them in bad company<sup>2</sup>, and in the *Rāmāyana* they are clearly stated as aborigines living outside the pale of Aryan culture.<sup>3</sup>

The Sūdras and Ābhīras who also lived in the *Vinaśana* region, are mentioned as a northern people in the *Bhīṣma Parva* list of the *Mahābhārata*.<sup>4</sup> The two tribes are very often coupled together<sup>5</sup>; and the Great Epic expressly states that they lived on the banks of the river Sarasvatī and were fishermen by profession:—

*Sūdrābhīragamāścaiva ye cāśritya Sarasvatīm*

*Vartayantī ca ye Matsyairye ca parvatavāsinaḥ.*<sup>6</sup>

The Sūdras mentioned along with the Ābhīras in the *Mahābhāṣya* of Patañjali<sup>7</sup> (2nd century B.C.) are the same as the Sodrai of the Greeks, not the Oxydrakoi,<sup>8</sup> who are mentioned along with the Malloi<sup>9</sup>. The city of Uch (38 miles to the south-east of Bahawalpur town, Punjab) on the south bank of the Sutlej opposite its confluence with the Chenab, which is full of ancient ruins is believed to have formed a part of the Sūdra country.<sup>10</sup>

In the context of the references to the name in the *Mahābhārata* and the *Mahābhāṣya*, the Ābhīras are also to be assigned to the land near *Vinaśana* which presumably was their earliest settlement in India. It is suggested that Abiravan between Herat and Kandahar was the original home of the Ābhīras,<sup>11</sup> and that they entered India shortly 'before or along with the Śakas'.<sup>12</sup> This seems to agree with the trend of their early settlements in the direction of the south from the north. In the first and second centuries A.D., they are located in the country between the lower Sindhu valley and Kathiawar, as is indicated in the 'Periplus' and in the Geography of Ptolemy<sup>13</sup>. Throughout the third century A.D. the Ābhīras were exercising ruling power in northern Konkan and Mahārāṣṭra.<sup>14</sup> They continued to rule as late as the middle of the fourth century when

<sup>1</sup> KSSR, I, p. 241. In the *Harivamsa* the Niśādas are represented as collecting precious gems and jewels found in river beds\* (HV, i. 38-32).

<sup>2</sup> ii.317: *Niśādān Puruṣādāmśca Kornaprāvarandāpi.*

<sup>3</sup> The story of the Niśāda king Guha

<sup>4</sup> Mbh., vi. 9.67.

<sup>5</sup> Mbh. (b), iii. 159.351:—*Sūdrātathābhīrā*; vii. 18. 7: *Sūdrābhīrāh.*

<sup>6</sup> Mbh., ii. 32.10

<sup>7</sup> I. 2. 3

<sup>8</sup> MI, p. 351.

<sup>9</sup> Ibid. 287.

<sup>10</sup> MI, p. 354.

<sup>11</sup> D. C. Sircar in IHQ, XXI 302, fn. 17.

<sup>12</sup> The Age of Imperial Unity, p. 221.

<sup>13</sup> MT, p. 186 and 140.

<sup>14</sup> NHIP, VI. 51. Vātsyāyana (VKS, p. 289, 308) refers to the struggle of the Ābhīra kings.



they came into conflict with the Kadamba king Mayūrasarman<sup>1</sup> whose Chandravalli inscription<sup>2</sup> refers to the association of the Ābhīras and the Traikūṭakas in northern Konkan. This supports the contention of Pandit Indrajī that the Traikūṭakas who lived in the Poona district were a branch of the Ābhīras<sup>3</sup> though, as the inscription indicates, they had two separate kingdoms.

Other references to the people point to the existence of Ābhīra settlements in central India and Khandash. The *Vāyu Purāṇa* groups the Ābhīras with the Vidarbhas and Pulindas<sup>4</sup>, which can be contrasted with the Ābhīra tribe subdued by the Gupta emperor. The undoubted traces of Ābhīra settlement in Ahirwar between Bhilsa and Jhansi in central India,<sup>5</sup> can also be noted in this connection.

Epigraphic evidence indicates the existence of an Ābhīra kingdom in the 14th century<sup>6</sup> in Khandesh. This principality was probably referred to by Jaya Simha Sūri (A.D. 1356) in his *Kumāra-pāla-carita* : after capturing the ruler of Avanti-deśa, the Chalukya king crossed the river Revā, and entering the Ābhīra-*viṣaya* compelled the lord of Prakāśa-nagarī to become his servant.<sup>7</sup>

During this period, the Ābhīras or a branch of them also lived in Rajputana ; Jaya Simha Sūri refers to an Ābhīra country conjointly with Mālava and Medapāṭa.<sup>8</sup> The Jodhpur inscription of Samvat 918, records that the Ābhīra people of this area were a terror to their neighbours, because of their violent demeanour.<sup>9</sup> The people also lived in Nepal ;<sup>10</sup> and subsequently, under the name Ahīr i.e. Gopas or herdsmen, they remained scattered throughout the whole of the eastern Punjab.<sup>11</sup> They also took to cultivation : in some parts of the Punjab, the Ahīras, who are all Hindus, are now almost 'exclusively agricultural'.

13. MATSYAS      Supra pp. 29-32.

14. MADHYAMIKAS

The Yavana invasion of Madhyamikā is mentioned by Patañjali. The Śibi coins of the second century B.C. containing the legend 'Majhamikāya-Śibi-Janapadasa' which have been found at a village called Nāgarī<sup>12</sup>, seven miles north of Chitor and one of the most

<sup>1</sup> The Age of Imperial Unity, p. 222-23.

<sup>2</sup> EI. XXIII. 48 ; EI. 172 ; SI 449.

<sup>3</sup> Bomb. Gaz., I, Pt. I, pp. 57-58.

<sup>5</sup> JRAS. 1897. p. 891.

<sup>7</sup> DHNI, II, pp. 985-986.

<sup>9</sup> EI. IX 279 The Ābhīra robbers are also mentioned in the *Skanda Purāṇa* (v. I. 24.7).

<sup>11</sup> Glossary. II, pp 4-6.

<sup>4</sup> Ch. 45. 126.

<sup>6</sup> EI. XXV. 203.

<sup>8</sup> Ibid. p. 933.

<sup>10</sup> DHNI, I, pp. 187-191.

<sup>12</sup> CCAI, p. CXXIV-V ; CL, p. 173.

ancient places in Rajputana, indicate that the Śibi settlement of Madhyamikā corresponded to the region round Nāgarī. From a *Jātaka* story we learn that Jetuttara was a city of the Śivi kingdom.<sup>1</sup> Jetuttara has been identified with Nāgarī,<sup>2</sup> the Śibi (Śivī) city of the Madhyamikā Janapada. Alberuni's information that Jattaraur (same as Jetuttara) was the capital of the kingdom of Maiwar,<sup>3</sup> may contain a clue to connect the Madhyamikā country with the famous Rajput principality of Medapāṭa or Mewar. But the Śivis were a people of the north and the *Mahābhārata* groups them with the Punjab tribes. The literary references to the people being earlier than the numismatic references, it follows that a people of this name moved to Rajputana from the Punjab.

15. MĀTHURAKAS      Supra pp. 33-34.

16. JYOTIṢAS

It is probable that the name starting from a professional designation<sup>4</sup> became fixed as the name of a great tribe. Reference to Uttara Jyotiṣas whose city was Divyakaṭapura;<sup>5</sup> and Prāg Jyotiṣas, the famous eastern people, suggests that there was a central tribe of the name of Jyotiṣas who might have lived somewhere in the Doab.

17. DHARMĀRANYA

In the *Padma Purāṇa*<sup>6</sup>, Agastya-āśrama is considered to be the same as Dharmāraṇya. There were many hermitages of this name, but the one in Garhwal<sup>7</sup> may satisfy the conditions. A variant reading of the name is Umāraṇya. Umāraṇya was the same as Umāvana which is located in the district of Kumaun.<sup>8</sup> Apparently, Dharmāraṇya was some hilly region of the Garhwal and Kumaun country.

18. ŚŪRASENAS      Supra pp. 32-34.

19. GAURAGRIVAS

The name is based on the physical features of a people, meaning white-necked.

20. UDDEHIKAS

Numismatic evidence proves the existence of a people of this name who are otherwise unknown to ordinary Indian literature.

<sup>1</sup> No. 547, CJ. VI, p. 247.

<sup>2</sup> JASB, 1887. p. 74.

<sup>3</sup> *Alī*, I. 202.

<sup>4</sup> Glossary, II, p. 413. There is a class of Brahmans in Kaśmir known as Jyotiṣi (IG XV. 105).

<sup>5</sup> *Mbh*; ii. 32. 11.

<sup>6</sup> *Svarga*, 6. 5-7

<sup>7</sup> *DD*, p. 2.

<sup>8</sup> *DD*, p. 211.

Coins bearing the inscription *Udehaki*, in Brāhmī characters of the second century B.C., have come to light. The name undoubtedly refers to the Uddehikas,<sup>1</sup> and Rairh, the findspot of the coins,<sup>2</sup> may offer a clue to the location of this tribe. Alberuni who had a rare knowledge of the forgotten peoples of antiquity says that Uddehika is near 'Bazāna',<sup>3</sup> 112 miles south-west of Kanauj. S. K. Dikshit's identification of Bazāna with Naraina, a town 70 miles SW. of Bairat, and 125 miles north of Chitor, seems to be plausible having regard to the position of Uddehika, which he locates at Bari-udai in the Gangapur *tahsil* of the Jaipur State : which is only 40 miles NE. of Rairh (the findspot of the coins) and about 98 miles ESE. of Naraina, the Bazāna of Alberuni.

## 21. PĀNDUS

Pāṇḍus, Pāṇḍavas and Pāṇḍyas are mere variants, and refer to the descendants of Pāṇḍu, brother of the Kuru prince Dhṛtarāṣṭra. They ruled in Indraprastha known to the Egyptian geographer Ptolemy as Indabara who recorded that the country of the Pandouoi spread around the Bidaspes (Jhelum),<sup>4</sup> and also referred to other Pāṇḍava cities such as Labaka (= Lahore ?) and Sagala. The Greek writers knew of a Pāṇḍava settlement on the basin of the river Chambal,<sup>5</sup> while Alberuni records a tradition that Kanoj became famous by the children of Pāṇḍu.<sup>6</sup>

But the Pandian kingdom of the age of Periplus, and Pandion of Strabo and Ptolemy, refer to the famous Tamil country of the far south which is generally believed to have been a settlement of

<sup>1</sup> CCAI, p CXLI

<sup>2</sup> IC VII. 361-68.

<sup>3</sup> AI, I 300 Alberuni writes that marching from Kanoj towards the south-west, for about 20 *farsakh*, one reaches Bazāna, the capital of Guzarat (p 202) We are informed by him that Bazāna was also called Nārāyan. But the next statement contains some discrepancy. The distance between Māhūra and Kanoj is stated to be the same as that between Kanoj and Bazāna, viz, 28 *farsakh* (Ibid & p 199). Bazāna is again placed 25 *farsakh* north of Maiwar, the capital of which was Jattaraur i.e. Nāgarī to the north of Chitor. It follows that Bazāna was separated from Mewar by almost the same distance (25 *farsakh*) as that recorded between Bazāna and Kanoj (20 or 28 *farsakh*) All these point to some place in Jaipur (or Bayānā ?) as the locality indicated by Bazāna But how can it be the capital of Guzarat ? General Cunningham explains this discrepancy by taking Guzerat, variantly read as Kairāt by Firishta, to be corruptions of Bairāt ; and Nārdin and Nārāna, other names of Bazāna the capital city, are regarded by him as only the alterations of Nārāyana, the name of a town about 12 miles to the north-east of Bairat (Elliot and Dowson, The History of India, I, p 59 fn ; pp. 393-96).

<sup>4</sup> MT, p. 121, 128 and 89.

<sup>5</sup> MM, pp 150-51 fn.

<sup>6</sup> AI, I, 100.

the Pāṇḍavas of Āryāvarta, as is indicated by the name Dakṣiṇa Mathurā (Madura)<sup>1</sup>, the capital city of the Pāṇḍya kingdom of the south, and by the Greek accounts of 'Heracles' and his worshippers the Suraseni (Śūrasenas) and his daughter Pandaea to whom he gave a country.<sup>2</sup> According to Dr. D. R. Bhandarkar the Pāṇḍyas had another settlement in Ceylon.<sup>3</sup>

## 22. GUḌAS

Very little is known about them, except that Alberuni furnishes the information that Thanesar was called Guḍa in his time.<sup>4</sup> The order of narration also suggests that the people have to be located somewhere in the neighbourhood of the Pāṇḍya country (Delhi) in the Madhya-deśa. Traces of the existence of the people at one time in the Punjab perhaps survive in modern Gaur group of Brahmans, who are now 'confined almost entirely to the eastern districts of the Punjab'<sup>5</sup>. The 'Ādi Gauḍa' of tradition similarly refers to the upper parts of the Ganges.<sup>6</sup>

## 23. AŚMAKAS

Aśmakas of Pāṇini when considered along with his use of expressions like Dākṣiṇātya<sup>7</sup> and Kalinga<sup>8</sup>, can be equated with the Assaka-Mahājanapada of the Buddhist *Āṅguttara Nikāya*, which was situated on the banks of the Godāvarī.<sup>9</sup> According to the *Mahāgovinda Suttanta* of the *Dīgha Nikāya*, Assaka with its capital Potana, was one of the seven political divisions of India.<sup>10</sup> Potana, the Pāli form of Sanskrit Pratiṣṭhāna is also mentioned as Potalī<sup>11</sup>, the same as Paudanya of the *Mahābhārata*.<sup>12</sup> It has been regarded as identical with modern Paithan in Aurangabad district of Hyderabad, on the north bank of the Godāvarī. Natives of Paithan, i.e. Paithānikas may have been referred to as Peṭenikas in Asoka's

<sup>1</sup> K. P. Mitra in IHQ. XV. 464-70.

<sup>3</sup> CL, p. 12.

<sup>2</sup> CH. I. 108; CL, pp. 9-11; PHAI, p. 541.

<sup>4</sup> AI, I. 300; JRAS, 1905, pp. 163-64.

<sup>5</sup> Glossary, II, p. 281.

<sup>6</sup> See Martin, Eastern India, Vol. I, p. 154. The division of the Brahmans into five classes known as *Pañca Gaudas* (Vallāla-caritam, Bibliotheca Indica, 1904, p. 2, vs. 13) is well-known. It has been shown that Gauḍa Brahmans were scattered over different parts of India.

<sup>7</sup> iv. 2.98.

<sup>8</sup> iv. 1.170.

<sup>9</sup> *Sutta Nipāta*, vs. 976-977; SBE, X. 184.

<sup>10</sup> The seven kingdoms with their capitals are:—Kalinga-Dantapura; Assaka-Potana; Avanti-Māhissatī; Sovira-Roruka; Videha-Mithilā; Aṅga-Campā; Kāśī-Bārāṇasī (DN., II. p. 235; SBB, III, p. 270).

<sup>11</sup> *Jātaka*, No. 310, CJ. III. p. 2.

<sup>12</sup> PHAI, p. 121.

edict.<sup>1</sup> *Pratiṣṭhāna* is frequently mentioned in the *Kathā-Sāgara* as a city of the Deccan situated on the bank of the Godāvarī.<sup>2</sup> The name occurs in the *Skanda Purāṇa* as *Paiṭhīnasīpurī*.<sup>3</sup>

*Aśmaka* country lay to the north of Godāvarī and perhaps embraced the modern Nasik and Aurangabad districts; and according to the commentator *Bhaṭṭasvāmin*, *Aśmaka* was the same as *Mahārāṣṭra*.<sup>4</sup> But the *Aśmakas* were very closely related to the *Mūlakas* who had also *Patitṭhāna* (Sans. *Pratiṣṭhāna*) or *Paithan* as their capital.<sup>5</sup> The two names are often treated in conjunction with each other. In the Nasik record of queen *Gautamī Balaśrī*,<sup>6</sup> mention is made of *Asaka* (*Aśmaka* or *Aśvaka*) immediately before *Mūlaka*. Purāṇic traditions attribute the foundation of the two kingdoms to *Ikṣvāku* chiefs.<sup>7</sup> The geographical location of these two peoples presents certain difficulty, for they shared the same capital. The passage of the *Sutta Nipāta* (v. 977) seems to show that the *Assaka* (*Aśmaka*) territory on the Godāvarī in *Dakṣiṇā-patha* lay along that river to its south; because, the Brahman priest reached *Patitṭhāna* of the *Mūlaka* country proceeding northwards from *Assaka* (*Aśmaka*). In early Pāli literature, as Dr. Bhandarkar points out, the two have been distinguished<sup>8</sup>; yet the formation of the *Aśmaka Mahājanapada* which extended as far as the Narmada<sup>9</sup> and abutted on *Avanti*<sup>10</sup>, was possible by the incorporation of the little *Mūlaka* State. Even so, *Mūlaka* maintained its separate existence at least in the time of *Gautamīputra*, the famous *Sāta-vāhana* king (c. 106-130 A.D.). S. Levi writes that *Mūlaka*, placed between *Assaka* (*Paithan*) and *Suratha*, designated the portion of the coast to the north of Bombay.<sup>11</sup>

But a people called *Aśmaka* or *Aśvaka* also occurs in our list

<sup>1</sup> CH. I. 608, For other views see TAI, pp. 381-82.

<sup>2</sup> KSSR, II, p. 32-33, I, p. 232.

<sup>3</sup> ii. 7. 14. 34.

<sup>4</sup> DD, p. 13.

<sup>5</sup> *Sutta Nipāta*, vs. 977 and 1010-11. *Mūlaka* is the correct reading and not *Aḷaka* as adopted by V. Fausboll (CL, p. 4, fn. 3).

<sup>6</sup> EI. VIII. 61.

<sup>7</sup> PHAI, p. 122 Dr. D. R. Bhandarkar connects *Pratiṣṭhāna* (*Paithan*) of the Godāvarī with the city of this name on the confluence of the Ganges and the Jumna, which was the capital of the *Aila Purūravas* and concludes that the Godāvarī *Paithan* was a colony of the *Aila* tribe (CL, pp. 15-16).

<sup>8</sup> CL, pp. 53-54, also TAI, pp. 184-185.

<sup>9</sup> DD, p. 13.

<sup>10</sup> PHAI, pp. 121-22. But Dr. B. C. Law accepts the theory of Rhys Davids that the collocation of names in the Buddhist list of *Mahājanapadas* indicates that *Aśmaka* was situated on the north-west of *Avanti*. *Aśmaka* of the Godāvarī, was accordingly a later colony (TAI, p. 181).

<sup>11</sup> JAHRS. IX. 8-10.

of North-Western tribes (No. 6). In the *Padma Purāṇa*, we read of 'Āśmakāḥ Sottarāścaiva'.<sup>1</sup> The Āśmakas are similarly mentioned in the *Mahābhārata* as a northern tribe,<sup>2</sup> although the reading varies with Āśvaka in some recensions of the *Mahābhārata*.<sup>3</sup> M. de St.-Martin suggests that the name Āśvaka which occurs in the *Mahābhārata* as a people of the north-west<sup>4</sup> was derived from Āśva 'a horse' signifying merely the 'cavalier' and indicating that the country was renowned for its breed of horses. In popular dialect, Āśvaka may be changed into Assaka, whence the name Assakani or Assakenoi of the Greek historians was obtained. Now, if Āśmaka means 'stony region', it cannot be equated with Assakenoi or Āśvaka, the land of horses. But it has been seen that Āśmaka of Pāṇini refers to Assaka of the Buddhist texts, the southern realm. Assaka again, which was the popular form of Āśvaka, has been regarded as the basis of the Greek word Assakenoi. The Āśmakas of the NW. division of our text, and Āśvakas of the *Mahābhārata* stated to be a people of the same region, are perhaps variants of the same name,<sup>5</sup> and in all probability refer to the Assakenians, for, unless we regard the two names as identical, we will have to accept the untenable position that there were two tribes namely the Āśvakas and Āśmakas who lived in the North-West. But this by no means makes it clear beyond doubt that the northern Āśvaka country (derived from Āśva, horse), variantly known also as Āśmaka, was a settlement of the very same people who lived in the southern Āśmaka country (stony region) on the Godāvarī. The equation, though plausible, lacks cogent evidence for its support.

It is further suggested that the Greek name Assakenoi, is the basis of the name Avghān or Afghāns, which is only a contracted form of Assakān. But Āśmaka or the Āśvaka, being the same as the Assakenians, may refer to a distinct tribal group. The Greek writers locate the country of Assakenoi in the Swat valley. Arrian states that Alexander with a view to attacking the Assakenians passed through the country of the Gouraians (Gouraiōi), where 'he had to cross the Gouraios, the river named after that country'<sup>6</sup>. The river 'Gouraios of Arrian, was the river Panjkhora or the Landai,

<sup>1</sup> Svarga, 3.40.

<sup>2</sup> TAI, p. 180.

<sup>3</sup> See also DKDI, p. 77, for Āśmaka of the *Padma Purāṇa* and Āśvaka of the *Mahābhārata*.

<sup>4</sup> MI, p. 333.

<sup>5</sup> Mark Collins says that Āśmaka and Āśvaka may be the result of the divergent Sanskritization of the Prākṛt Assaka (GDRD, p. 7). Prof. Rhys Davids is also of opinion that Āśmakā and Āśvakā would be Assakā both in the local vernacular and in Pāli (Buddhist India, p. 28).

<sup>6</sup> MI, p. 66; MT, p. 111.

formed by the junction of the rivers Panjkhora and Swat,<sup>1</sup> to the west of which lived the Gourains. This refers to the wooded hills of Bājaur; and the rough and rocky tract of Mohmand between the rivers Landai and Kunar (Kampanā, Malantos and Euaspala) bounded by the Kabul river on the south, as the country of the Gauras. The country and the river may owe their names to the Ghorī, a great and wide spread tribe, branches of which are still to be found to the west of Landai and on both sides of the Kabul river<sup>2</sup>. We have in our list of North-Western tribes a people (No. 14) called Guruhas. The Greek name (Gouraians) appears to be a close rendering of the Sanskrit name, which raises a strong presumption that the Guruhas were an old people, and were living in the Kabul valley as early as the time of the Greek invasion.

Alexander crossed the river Gouraios, entered the country of the Assakenoi, and laid siege to Massaga.<sup>3</sup> Sir Thomas Holdich is of opinion, that as no mention is made of Alexander's passage of the Suastos (Swat River) he must have 'crossed the Panjkora below its junction with the Swat'<sup>4</sup>. Consequently, the invader crossed the Landai and landed in the country lying to the south of the Swat, the country of the Assakenians. Massaga, which according to Strabo, was the capital<sup>5</sup> has been identified with Massanagar<sup>6</sup> (Skt. Maśakāvati) 'not very far to the north of the Malkand Pass'. Holdich connects the city with a place called Matkanai close to the Malakand Pass, and lying on the south bank of the Swat,<sup>7</sup> but Arrian seems to know Peukelaitis as a city of the Assakenoi.<sup>8</sup> The Assakenoi (=Aśmaka) country was thus encompassed by the Swat on the north, the Landai on the west and the Kabul on the south.

The Assakenians were great fighters: Greek writers admit that they offered a stubborn resistance to Alexander, and once Alexander was even obliged 'to draw off his forces'.<sup>9</sup>

24. PANCĀLAS      Supra p. 35.

## 25. ŚĀKETAS

They are the people of Śāketa, a place mentioned by Patañjali as being besieged by the Yavanas.<sup>10</sup> It was the Soked of Tibetan

<sup>1</sup> MM, p. 198 fn; MI, p. 66, fn. 1

<sup>3</sup> MM, p. 184; MI, p. 66.

<sup>2</sup> MI, p. 66, fn. 1; MT, p. 111.

<sup>4</sup> Gates of India, p. 104.

<sup>5</sup> MA, p. 33, and fn. 2.

<sup>6</sup> MI, pp. 334-35. For other views etc., see EHI, p. 57, fn. 1.

<sup>7</sup> Gates of India, p. 105 and map facing p. 94.

<sup>8</sup> MM, p. 184.

<sup>10</sup> Mahābhāṣya on Pāṇini, iii. 2. 111.

<sup>9</sup> MI, pp. 66-67.

and Chinese works<sup>1</sup>, a very celebrated city of the Buddhist world. In the time of Lord Buddha it was considered as one of the six great cities of India, and according to the *Abhidhānappadīpikā* it was one of the twenty ancient cities. Rhys Davids says, "Sāketa is often supposed to be the same as Ayodhyā (Oudh) but both cities are mentioned as existing in the Buddha's time. They were possibly adjoining like London and Westminster".<sup>2</sup> If Sāketa is celebrated in Buddhist canonical works, Ayodhyā is equally celebrated in the *Rāmāyana*. In other works, Sāketa is mentioned in preference to Ayodhyā. But Yaśodhara in his Commentary writes: *Sāketā Ayodhiyakāh*.<sup>3</sup> Hemachandra also considers Sāketa, Ayodhyā and Kosala as synonymous terms: *Sāketam Kosalā'yodhyā*.<sup>4</sup> In the Purāṇas we read :—

*Anu-Gaṅgā Prayāgaṃca Sāketam Magadhāṃstathā*

*Etān Janapadān sarvān bhokṣyante Guptavamśajāh*<sup>5</sup>

In the 4th century A.D. Sāketa, territorially speaking represented the ancient Kośala-*Mahājanapada*, and was equivalent to modern Oudh, an 'anu-gaṅgā' Janapada, of which the river Ganges forms even now its southern boundary, and greater part of its south-western boundary. The name Oudh is, however, a corruption of ancient Ayodhyā, which stood on the site of the modern Ajudhyā near Faizabad.<sup>6</sup>

## 26. KANKAS

The hairy horned Kaṅkas, grouped with the Śakas, Tuṣāras and a host of other such mountainous people, are represented in the Great Epic<sup>7</sup> as bringing presents to the Pāṇdavas of Paipīlikā gold. The highlands of Tibet have always been notorious for the wandering of bands of wild tribes, and the reference to ant-collected gold makes it highly probable that the people came from across the Tibetan borderland to the valley of the Ganges.<sup>8</sup>

## 27. KURUS      Supra p. 35-36.

## 28. KALAKOTIS

Kālakūta is mentioned in the aphorisms of Pāṇini.<sup>9</sup> A

<sup>1</sup> PHAI. p. 395.

<sup>2</sup> Rhys Davids, Buddhist India, p. 39.

<sup>3</sup> VKS, p. 411 Cf also *Raghuvamśa*, v. 31.

<sup>4</sup> *Abhidhāna*, p. 389.

<sup>5</sup> Pargiter, *Dynasties of the Kali age*, p. 53.

<sup>6</sup> For other views on the site of ancient Ayodhyā, see V Smith in JRAS. 1897, p. 860, who accepts Fergusson's theory that the site must be looked for at or near Lucknow. Major Vost (JRAS. 1905, p. 437) would locate Sāketa at a village, 24 miles north-west of Allahabad.

<sup>8</sup> See infra Khasas.

<sup>7</sup> Mbh (B), ii. 49. 25.

<sup>9</sup> IHQ. II. 759.



country called Kālakūṭa was conquered by Arjuna.<sup>1</sup> In another passage<sup>2</sup> it is stated that proceeding from Kuru-deśa, and leaving Kuru-Jāngala, one reached the Kālakūṭa country; the indications are that it was somewhere in the Upper Gangetic Doab. As Kālakūṭa means black fort, it is tempting to connect it with the Kālī Nadī or 'black river'. In its upper course the river flows through the districts of Muzaffarnagar, Meerut, Bulandshahr, Aligarh and ultimately joins the Ganges not far above Kanauj. The district of Muzaffarnagar is bounded on the east by the Ganges, and on the south by Meerut. If Kālakūṭa was near the Kuru country, the town of Muzaffarnagar, which 'is well situated on high land above the Kālī Nadī'<sup>3</sup> might have stood for a fort on the black river in ancient times. Information about the position of Kālakūṭa is obtained in another passage which runs thus:—

*Ahicchatraṁ Kālakūṭaṁ Gaṅgākūṭaṁ Bhārata*

*Bāraṇaṁ Bātadhānaṁ Yāmūnaiśceva parvataḥ*

*Esa deśah suvistīrṇah prabhūta dhana dhānyavān.*<sup>4</sup>

Here Kālakūṭa is placed near Ahicchatra and the Ganges, and the locality suggested above agrees well with the description in the *Śloka*. Other places in the neighbourhood were Bāraṇa and Bātadhāna. Bāraṇa or Baran was the old name of the town of Bulandshahr,<sup>5</sup> which is also situated like Muzaffarnagar near the Kālī Nadī in the Doab or alluvial plain between the Ganges and Jumna in the Meerut Division. The other name Bātadhāna is obviously the country of the Vātadhāna is obviously the country of the Vātadhānas, who appear along with the Śaradhānas as a people of the North (Nos. 23 & 24) in our list. In another passage of the *Mahābhārata*, the Vātadhāna country is grouped with Madhvamikā and Puskara,<sup>6</sup> while in the *Bhīma Prava* list the Vātadhānas are combined with the Ābhīras and Bālīkas. Pargiter suggests that the people lived on the east side of the Sutlej.<sup>7</sup>

In the passage cited above Vātadhāna is placed between Bulandshahr (Bāraṇa) and the Jumna hills, which accords with the position of the country of the Śaradhānas, their associates, who

<sup>1</sup> Mbh., ii. 26.

<sup>2</sup> Ibid. ii. 20. 26.

<sup>3</sup> IG. XVIII. 93.

<sup>4</sup> Mbh., v. 19. 30.

<sup>5</sup> IG. IX. 37; EI. XXVI. 94. The city was also called Unchānagar ('high town') and referred to as Ucenagara in an inscription (EI. I. 381).

<sup>6</sup> ii. 32. 8. Vātadhāna of this passage is sought to be identified with Bhādāna, supposed to be the Pkt form of the name (Vātadhāna) from which the Bazāna of Alberuni was taken (IC. VII. 362-63). See Uddehikas, supra p. 47.

<sup>7</sup> MP, p. 312.

may have occupied the Sardhan *tahsil* of the Meerut District. Curiously enough, the *Ain-i-Akbari* refers to Sardhanah and Badhūnah (=Vāṭadhāna) as two *parganahs* of the *Sarkār* of Saharanpur in the *Subah* of Delhi.<sup>1</sup>

## 29. KUKURAS

The name according to Pargiter originated from Kukura, a son of Andhaka, who belonged to the Sātvata sub-line of the Yādavas<sup>2</sup>. Epic tradition represents the name Kukura as a *vamśa* like Bhoja, Vṛṣṇi, Yadu and Andhaka, etc.<sup>3</sup> but other passages refer to the Kukura country<sup>4</sup> as in the *Bhīṣma Parva* list. Kauṭilya even knows a corporation of the Kukuras like that of the Pañcūlas,<sup>5</sup> and in the *Harivamśa* they are described as an extraordinarily powerful people.<sup>6</sup> The name occurs even in the work of the lexicographer Puruṣottama-deva.<sup>7</sup>

Two lists of country names as furnished by two well-known epigraphs of the first part of second century A.D., in which Kukura is mentioned, give us an idea about the situation of the Kukura country. In one, the order of narration is : Suratha, Kukura, Aparānta;<sup>8</sup> while in another, it is Sindhu-Sauvīra, Kukura and Aparānta.<sup>9</sup> In each case Kukura is linked with Aparānta.

Dr. Bhagavanlal Indrajī thinks that Aparāntikā refers to Ariake, which is the Greek name of the Western Coast of India;<sup>10</sup> for, Aparāntikā in Prākṛit may have become Abarātikā or Avarāikā, which may have yielded to Ariake. The Buddhist form of the name, as found in an inscription,<sup>11</sup> is '*Avarānta*' which is a close rendering of Sanskrit Aparānta (ka). The original application of the name was made in its most extended sense;<sup>12</sup> for, Purāṇic accounts have a large measure of agreement, in including almost all the countries of the west sea-board within Aparānta,<sup>13</sup> which presumably extended from the Great Rann of Cutch up to Sopārā to the north of Bombay, stretching inland as far as Mount Abu in the north and Nasik in the south. Kālidāsa also used Aparānta in its widest signification, in connection with the exploits of Raghu as referring to the western coast of India extending from Malabar to Sind.<sup>14</sup> Dr.

<sup>1</sup> AIA, II, p. 105.

<sup>2</sup> AIHT, pp. 104-5., HV, i. 37. 18 ff.

<sup>3</sup> Mbh (B), ii. 48. 16; iii. 154. 32; v. 28. 11.

<sup>4</sup> Ibid. vi. 51. 7.

<sup>5</sup> AS, p. 407.

<sup>10</sup> IA. VII. 259.

<sup>12</sup> Cf. Aśoka's RE. V; CII. I. 10. fn. 3.

Vā., 45. 129 f.; Mat., 114. 50-51; Mār., 57. 49 ff.

iv. 51-58: *Aparānta Mahi*.

<sup>6</sup> HV, i. 37. 33.

<sup>7</sup> TKS, p. 31.

<sup>8</sup> EI. VIII. 61

<sup>9</sup> Ibid. 44.

<sup>11</sup> EI XX 22.

R. G. Bhandarkar was the first to identify Aparānta with the western coast below the Sahyādrī.<sup>1</sup> Dr. Bhagavanlal Indraji on the authority of a passage in the *Māhabhārata* shows that even Prabhāsa in Kathiawar was included in Aparānta, and that it corresponded to Konkan.<sup>2</sup> He further observes, on the basis of the Mallināth's Commentary on *Raghuvamśa* (IV. 53), that Sūrpāraka or Sopārā was the capital of Aparānta to which Dr. Burgess also agrees.<sup>3</sup> Fleet includes Konkan, Kathiawad, Cutch and even Sind in Aparānta.<sup>4</sup> But Aparānta had a restricted sense as well as is clear in the records referred to. It is even treated as a *Viṣaya* in one inscription, where it is stated that it was near the sea : *Sāgara-tatē Dvā (da) śagrāmyā Avaranta-Viṣāyā*.<sup>5</sup> This restricted sense of the geographical application of Aparānta is also implied in the *Kāmasūtra* of Vātsyāyana (3rd century A.D.), where the people of Aparānta are mentioned several times. In one group of *Sūtras* they occur in the order : Andhras, Vatsagulmas, Vidarbhas, Aparāntas and lastly the Saurāṣṭrakas.<sup>6</sup> In another *Sūtra* they are grouped with the Lātas<sup>7</sup> but distinguished from Sindhu. From the *Jayamangalā* Commentary we learn that Lāta was to the west of Aparā Mālava, and that Aparānta was a country on the western sea-coast.<sup>8</sup> Hence, distinguished from Sindhu, Saurāṣṭra and Lāta, Aparānta could have been equivalent only to a portion of the western sea-coast of India round about Bombay corresponding to Konkan, the chief city of which was modern Supara, near Bassein.<sup>9</sup> But Aparānta of the Junagadh record (c. 150 A.D.), had a different application representing a portion of Upper Sindh with portions of North Rajputana as the collocation of the names in the list suggests. The evidence offered by the Aparānta coins also points to the location of the country in that region.<sup>10</sup> The following equivalents of the country names of the Junagadh record would thus satisfy the conditions generally : Maru

<sup>1</sup> TRANS. Second Int. Congress of Orientalists (1874), p. 313

<sup>2</sup> IA VII 259. See also p. 263 for the views of Dr. Bühler who is in agreement with this theory. <sup>5</sup> EI XIV 150 <sup>6</sup> VKS, p. 300

<sup>3</sup> Ibid. 259, IA 1901, p. 387 JBRAS XV 274 <sup>7</sup> Ibid. 371

<sup>4</sup> IA XXII 173, JRAS 1910 p. 427 <sup>8</sup> Ibid. <sup>9</sup> CH. I 603

<sup>10</sup> The provenance of the coins of the Aparānta country would however, show that the Northern Sindh with parts of Western Rajputana would suit the geographical position of Aparānta best (AR XIV 137). Allan points out that some coins of the Mathura series contain the legend '*Maharajasa Apalātaśa*'. He is of opinion that Apalāta, which equates with Aparānta is not a territorial designation, but refers to 'a ruler of the dynasty of Mathura' having the name of Aparānta (CCAI, p. LXXXI-II).

(Jodhpur),<sup>1</sup> Kaccha (Cutch), Sindhu-Sauvīra (Sindh), Kukura (West Rajputana),<sup>2</sup> Aparānta (Upper Sind and the adjoining regions to the north of Rajputana), Nisāda (Hissar District)<sup>3</sup>.

30. PĀRIYĀTRANAGA Supra p. 44.

### 31. AUDUMBARAS

They claim to be descended from Viśvāmitra, the 7th of the third book of the *R̥gveda*,<sup>4</sup> and are placed near the people of Jalandhara in the *Ganapāṭha* on Pāṇini,<sup>5</sup> a location which is supported by numismatic evidence. Coins and inscriptions bear out that the mountainous country to the north of the Punjab, was occupied by many hill tribes and races one of which was the Udumbaras or Audambaras,<sup>6</sup> whose chief city was Pāthānkoṭ<sup>7</sup> in the Gurudaspur district, Punjab.<sup>8</sup> The provenance of the Udumbara coins assigned to the first century B.C.<sup>9</sup> suggests that the eastern portion of the modern districts of Kangra, Gurudaspur and Hoshiarpur, roughly speaking the valley of the Beas, or even the wider region between the Upper Sutlej and the Rāvi, corresponded to the ancient Audumbara country.<sup>10</sup> The character of the tribal organisation, whether it was a *janapada* or a *gana* is not made clear in the coin legends, one of which runs thus: *Mahādevasa raña Sivadasasa Odumbarisa*. The assumption of the title of Raña, which is ascribed to Greek influence, may not mean anything more than mere leadership of this tribe. The additional word 'mahādevasa', it is suggested, was not a regal title of the Audumbara leader, but reflected a conception of sovereignty according to which the ruler considered himself as a mere agent of the great God, who has been entrusted with the sovereignty of the kingdom.<sup>11</sup>

But the Odomboerae of Pliny<sup>12</sup> are certainly not the people mentioned in the coins. The country so named lay in Kachh. The evidence of some inscriptions proves the existence of other countries bearing such names.<sup>13</sup>

<sup>1</sup> See supra pp 39-40.

<sup>2</sup> See supra p. 55.

<sup>3</sup> DD, p. 106. Dr RoyChaudhury places it between Sind and the Pāriyātra Mt (PHAI, p. 425).

<sup>5</sup> IV, 2. 5. 3.

<sup>4</sup> MP, p. 355.

<sup>6</sup> CH. I. 529.

<sup>7</sup> The name is also written as Paithān, which is a corruption of Pratisthāna. It is situated in 32° 16' N. and 75° 40' E. It was the Pātānaprastha of Patañjali perhaps derived from Pattana. See IC VI. 135.

<sup>10</sup> Ibid. LXXXVII.

<sup>8</sup> Rapson, Ancient India, p 155.

<sup>11</sup> IHQ. XXVII. 203-4.

<sup>9</sup> CCAI, p. LXXXIV.

<sup>12</sup> MM, p. 149.

<sup>13</sup> A Copper-plate of Bhojadeva (V.S. 893=886 A.D.) refers to the Udumbara

## 32. KĀPIṢṬHALAS

The reference to the Kurus in the information underlying the next entry (No. 33) offers a clue to the identification of the people. If the name is a variant of Kapiṣṭhala, then it is easily the Kavītal of Alberuni,<sup>1</sup> that is, the modern Kaithal, 38 miles west of Karnal town. To the west of Kaithal, on the east bank of the Beas, lies the modern state of Kapurthala which bears a suspicious likeness to the name Kāpiṣṭhala. Pliny's Kambistholi, which is connected with the upper course of the Hydraotes,<sup>2</sup> represents, according to Schwanbeck, the Sanskrit Kāpisthala.<sup>3</sup>

## 33. GAJĀHVAYAS

A Jaina *Upāṅga* of great antiquity refers to the Kurus and Pañcālas as *Āriyas* of the same class and mentions Gayapuram as being the city of the former : *Gayapuram cha Kuru*.<sup>4</sup> Gayapuram is obviously the Jaina form of Gajapura, i.e. the city of the Gajāhvayas, a people who are considered identical with the people of Hastināpura by Hemacandra : *Atha Gajāhvayam syāt Hāstina-puram*.<sup>5</sup>

## 34. KULYAS

Dr. B. C Law connects them with the Kulutas the famous republican tribe.<sup>6</sup> But the people must be assigned, from the context, to the Upper Gangetic Valley. The name survives in Kol of Muslim historians. In *Tāju-l Ma'āsir* we read that Kutbu-d din marched from Delhi (1194 A.D.), and passing the Jūn (Jumna) took Kol,

*viṣaya* of the Kālañjara-maṇḍala in the Kānyakubja-bhukti (EI XIX. 15). The Vappaghoshavata Grant of Jayanāga has a similar reference (EI. XVIII 63, line 3) to Audumvarika-viṣaya, which as R. D. Banerjee points out (EI. XIX. 286), existed as the name of a division (Audumbara) even during Muḥammadan times, and lay to the south to the Ganges and to the west of the Bhāgirathī. A city named Udumbarapura existed in the Magadha janapada (TAI, p 355). Another Grant issued from the city of Māhismatī (EI. XIX. 262) mentions a district or *Pathaka* of the name of Udumbaragartā near about the central portion of the river Narmadā. Several votive labels at Sanchi Stupa refer to people who were residents of Udubara (Udubaraghariya) which is the Prākritisised form of Udumbara (Luder's List, Nos. 186, 609, 610).

<sup>1</sup> AI, I 206.

<sup>2</sup> MM, p. 196, 197 fn.

<sup>3</sup> A royal family of the name of Kapiṣṭhala flourished in Guzerat (IA. XI. 102).

<sup>4</sup> IA. XX, 375; Supra p. 30, fn. 2.

<sup>5</sup> Abhidhāna, p. 390. In the *Trikāṇḍaśeṣa*, Hastināpura and Gajāhva are given as synonyms of Nāgāhva (p. 32).

<sup>6</sup> TAI, p. 397. For the views of Dr. D. C. Sircar, see JHQ. XXI. 301, fn. 6.

which is one of the most celebrated fortresses of Hind'.<sup>1</sup> The Kol country is also mentioned in the *Tārīkh-I Mubārak-Shāhī* where it is stated that Khizr Khan chastised the rebels in the country of Kol (1419 A.D.), and after that he scoured the jungles of the Rahab and Sambhal.<sup>2</sup> Elsewhere, a description is given of an invading force marching through the town of Baran, and then reaching the country of Kol. After suppressing the rebels in that quarter it advanced into Etawa.<sup>3</sup> The geographical indications of the above texts make it clear that Kol was situated to the east of the Jumna, somewhere between Bulandshahr (Baran) and Etawa. In the *Ain-i-Akbari*, Kol (Koil) figures as one of the thirteen *Sarkārs* of the *Subah* of Agra. Among the *Mahals* of the *Sarkār* of Kol, mention is made of Atrauli, Sikandrah Rāo, Sòròn and Shikārpūr<sup>4</sup> all of which exist today as towns of the Gangetic Valley in the region lying adjacent to the north east and south of Aligarh. The Kol country of Muhāmmadan times, thus corresponded to the region between Aligarh and Bareilly districts.

### 35. KUNTALAS

In the *Mahābhārata* they are mentioned along with the Kośalas in the list of the northern tribes.<sup>5</sup> Pargiter notices that the country near Chunar to the south of Benares was called Kuntala-deśa.<sup>6</sup> This may be the Kuntala country of Madhya-deśa, for the Kāśīs appear next to the Kuntalas in our list. But a country of this name in the south was more well-known in ancient times.

In the *Kāmasūtra* of Vātsyāyana a *sūtra* runs thus: *Kuntalah Śātakarnih Śātavāhano*.<sup>7</sup> The evidence of South-Indian inscriptions indicates that the Kuntala country embraced the Southern Marhatta country and the adjoining Kanarese Districts. Thus the Gurgi inscription of Prabodha-Śiva<sup>8</sup> refers to the Lord of Kuntala as residing in Vanavāsi (North Kanara). An old Jaina inscription found at Tērdāṭ, which is a village in the Sāngli State in the Southern Marhatta (Maratha) country mentions the Kuntala country

<sup>1</sup> Elliot and Dowson, the History etc. II, p. 222, 224.

<sup>2</sup> Ibid. IV. 50.

<sup>3</sup> Ibid. 52.

<sup>4</sup> AIA. II, p. 186.

<sup>5</sup> Mbh., vi. 9. 52.

<sup>6</sup> MP, p. 308.

<sup>7</sup> VKS, p. 394. The Commentator adds that Kuntala in the name of the King bears a territorial meaning as the King was born there. This suggests that a King of the Śātavāhana dynasty ruled over Kuntala in about the third century A.D. or earlier. In the *Kāvya-mīmāṃsā* of Rājasekhara a passage referring to this runs thus: *Śrūyateca Kuntaleṣu Śātavāhano nāma rājā* (Kāvya, p. 50).

<sup>8</sup> EI. XXII. 135. vs. 34.

of Bhāratākhaṇḍa and its district Kūṇḍi: *Kūṇḍinām-odgha-deśam*.<sup>1</sup> In the heart of that district there was Tēridāḷa (L. 5), which was evidently the same as Terdal as noted above. The Kūṇḍi district may be equivalent to the Sāngli State.

These two inscriptions point to the inclusion of the southern part of the Bombay Presidency and the northern part of Mysore in Kuntala.<sup>2</sup>

### 36. KĀSIS

Numerous references to the people throughout Sanskrit and Buddhist literature show that they were the most renowned people of antiquity. The ancient Kāśī kingdom was bounded by Kośala on the north, Magadha on the east, and Vatsa on the west. The Cedis and Kārūṣas lived to their south.<sup>3</sup> The chief city of the Kāśis,<sup>4</sup> according to the combined testimony of Indian tradition, was Vārāṇasī,<sup>5</sup> very plausibly connected with the river varaṇavatī of the *Atharvaveda*.<sup>6</sup> The importance of the place is copiously referred to even in many Buddhist books; in the *Abhidhānāppadīpikā*, the city is mentioned in a list of twenty ancient cities of India, in another text, Kāśī with its capital Bārāṇasī is regarded as one of the seven political divisions of India, and in the *Mahāparinibbāna Suttanta* it is declared to be one of the three places of pilgrimage along with Kapilavatthu and Kusīnārā.<sup>7</sup>

The Kāśī kingdom is mentioned in the book of Ptolemy as (150 A.D.) Kassidas.<sup>8</sup> The sacred connection of the city of Benares with the Ganges is explicitly implied in many inscriptions of the mediæval period: *Vārāṇasyām Gaṅgāyām Snātvā*.<sup>9</sup> In early literature especially in Buddhist texts, Kāśī is seldom found as the designation of the city, and Benares, the designation of the

<sup>1</sup> IA. XIV. 16. L. 4.

<sup>2</sup> Rice, *Mysore and Coorg*, p. 3; Fleet, *Dynasties of the Kanarese Districts*, p. 284, fn. 2.

<sup>3</sup> CH. I. 316.

<sup>4</sup> Some texts refer to the Aparā kaśis (Bhīṣma Parva list) who may have been a branch of the Kāśis. Cf. *Kāśayo' para Kāśayah* (*Padma Purāṇa*, Svarga, 3. 38).

<sup>5</sup> Cf. Mbh (B), v. 50. 41. The popular derivation of the name is from Varāṇā and Asī, the names of the two small streams which confine the modern city (Rhys Davids, *Buddhist India*, p. 34). In the *Padma Purāṇa* we read: *Varaṇāyāstathācāsyā madhye vārāṇasī purī* (*Svarga*, 17. 50).

<sup>6</sup> iv. 7. 1.

<sup>7</sup> In the *Trikāṇḍaśeṣa*, Vārāṇasī is described as 'tīrtharāja' (p. 32). Cf. Mbh., xiii. 30. 16-18: 'Amarāvatī'.

<sup>8</sup> MT, p. 228.

<sup>9</sup> IA. XVIII. 136, line 25 and p. 139, line 25; EI. VIII. 152-153.

country. In mediaeval times, the name *Vārāṇasī* comprehended the entire district, and *Kāśī* generally represented only a small place. The Bengal Asiatic Society's plate which may be referred to the early part of the 10th century A.D. mentions *Kāśī* as a smaller territorial unit than *Vārāṇasī*, the former being included in the latter :

*Pratiṣṭhāna-Bhuktau Vārāṇasī-Viṣaya-sambaddha Kāśī-pāra-Pathake-Pratibaddha-Tikkarikā Grāma.*<sup>1</sup>

The *Bhukti* in question<sup>2</sup> comprised the modern districts of Allahabad and Benāres, and the *Viṣaya* (*Vārāṇasī*) within it, was undoubtedly the same as the modern district of this name. *Kāśī-pāra-pathaka* represented the site of the ancient city of the *Kāśī* kingdom.<sup>3</sup> Even in the time of Fa-hien *P'o-lo-na* i.e. *Varaṇā* (or *Varaṇū*) was regared as the capital of *Kāśī*, but in Hiuen Tsang's time, *Po-lo-na-se* (*Varaṇasī* or *Vārāṇasī*)<sup>4</sup> was a country of 4000 li in circuit, the capital of which bordered on its western side on the Ganges.<sup>5</sup> In a later Chinese work the two names are treated as convertible.<sup>6</sup> Thus we read that the kingdom of *Kia-shi* (*Kāśī*), also called *Po-lo-nai* (*Varaṇasī*) and *Shi-po-lo-nai* (*Śrī-Varaṇasī*) , was situated 1480 li south of the kingdom of *Kia-uei-lo-yusi* (*Kapilavasta*). Hemacandra and Yādavaprakāśa also considered the two names as synonymous : *Kāśīrvarāṇasī Vārāṇasī Śivapurīca sū.*<sup>7</sup>

From the account of Hiuen Tsang we learn that in his time the people of *Kāśī* were mostly Hindus, only a few among them being followers of the law of Buddha. He also noted, strange figures of religious mendicants and ascetics, practising devotions of various forms of austerity for which *Kāśī* was famous. But there were also rich men, who lived in costly houses and the pilgrim records that the manners of the people were kind and soft.<sup>8</sup>

### 37. KOŚALAS

Kośala is celebrated in the *Rāmāyana* :

*Kośalonāma muditah sphīto Janapadomahān*

*Nibiṣṭah Śārayūtīre prabhūta dhanadhānyavān.*<sup>9</sup>

<sup>1</sup> IA. XV. 138-141, line 10.

<sup>2</sup> *Pratiṣṭhāna* (mod. Jhusi) was situated on the Ganges, opposite its confluence with the Yamuna near Allahabad. The Grant of Trilocanapāla of the Vikrama year 1084, was found there (IA. XVIII. 33). The village referred to is the same as Tikari, eleven miles due south of Benares.

<sup>3</sup> The Muhammadan historians hardly refer to *Kāśī*. The district and the city was known to them as *Banāras* (Tabaquat Nāsiri, trans. by Raverty, 1881, p. 470 and 627).

<sup>4</sup> YC, II, p. 47.

<sup>5</sup> BR, II, p. 44.

<sup>6</sup> IA. XIII, 15, fn. 6. <sup>7</sup> *Abhidhāna*, p. 389; IHQ. XIX. 215. <sup>8</sup> BR, II, pp. 44-45. <sup>9</sup> *Rām*; i. 5. 5.



Ayodhyā stood on the banks of the Sarayū and covered an area of 12 *yojanas*.<sup>1</sup> An inscription of the 12th century A.D. refers to the confluence of the Sarayū and the Ghargharā at Ayodhyā.<sup>2</sup> But Ayodhyā was of small importance in Buddhist times.<sup>3</sup> The *Jātakas* refer to Sāketa and Śrāvastī as two other cities of the realm. Sāketa occupied a portion of the ancient city of Ayodhyā,<sup>4</sup> and Śrāvastī, which is mentioned in the *Jātakas* as Śāvatthī, is considered identical with Sāhet-Māhet on the south bank of the Rapti, on the borders of the Bahraich and Gonda districts. The river Rapti crosses the north-east and northern corner of the two districts respectively—the northern basin of the Rapti stretching up to the Nepal border. The Kośala country thus abutted on Nepal Tarai as the position of Śrāvastī indicates.<sup>5</sup> The inclusion of the territory of the Śākyas of Kapilāvastu within ancient Kośala,<sup>6</sup> shows that the northern frontier of the Kośala country marched along with the Himalayas, from the source of the river Rapti on the west to the source of the Rohini in the Nepal Sweeps on east, for the Śākyas inhabited the central portion of the Nepal Tarai region, bounded on the west by the Rapti<sup>7</sup> and on the east by the Rohini.<sup>8</sup> The Śākya capital Kapilāvastu was in the eastern part of their country somewhere in the neighbouring ruins of Tilaura Kot in the Tarai, about 10 miles to the north-west of Piprāwā<sup>9</sup>, which lies just outside the north-east angle of the Basti district in Nepal.<sup>10</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Rām., i. 5. 6-8. <sup>2</sup> EI. XIV. 196; VII 86-7 <sup>3</sup> Rhys Davids Buddhist India, p. 34. <sup>4</sup> See supra p. 53.

<sup>5</sup> Kośala had a number of other minor towns (B. C. Law, Geography of Early Buddhism, pp. 5-6), but Śrāvastī was famous in the history and tradition of Buddhism as a great centre of monastic activity. In Buddha's time it was included among the six great cities of India, and in a later work, Śāvatthī was included in a list of twenty ancient cities. In the Vaijayanī it is identified with Puramjaka (VJN, p. 37. v. 30). The city like Kānyakubja and Pratisthāna expanded into a big division in the 7th century as the reference to Śrāvastī-*bhukti* in the Madhuban plate of Harṣa implies (EI. VII. 157). In Hiuen Tsang's account Śrāvastī is described (*Shi-to-fu-shi-ti*) as a kingdom of about 6000 li in circuit (BR, II, pp. 2 ff), but the chief town i.e. the ancient city of Buddha's time was deserted and was mostly in ruins. The Sohagaura plate, probably of the time of Chandragupta Maurya, issued by the Council of Ministers of Śrāvastī refers to the store houses of Trivenī, Mathurā (not of the Śūrasenas), Chañchu (Ghazipur), Modāmā and Bhadra, all of which must have been in the Kośala province of which Śrāvastī was the capital (EI. XXII. 2). For a detailed description of Śrāvastī in Indian literature, see Memoirs of the Archaeological Survey of India, No. 50 by Dr. B. C. Law; TAI, pp. 129-132.

<sup>6</sup> PHAI, pp. 84-85; EHI, p. 30, fn. 2.

<sup>7</sup> Rapson, Ancient India, p. 161; Oldenburg, Buddha, pp. 95-96.

<sup>8</sup> Oldenburg, Buddha, p. 96. <sup>9</sup> EHI, p. 167, fn. 3.

<sup>10</sup> To the east of the Śākyas lived the Koliyas whose city Rāmagrāma may have

The Kośala kingdom was thus bounded by the edge of the Himalayas on the north. On the south it might have extended as far as the Sai, the Syandikā of *Rāmāyana*<sup>1</sup>, the largest tributary of the Gumti, which joins it in Jaunpur district. On the west Kośala was bounded by the Pañcāla country.<sup>2</sup> The eastern boundary, according to the *Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa*, was Sadānīrā by which it was separated from Videha. The river has been regarded as the same as Gaṇḍak, which takes a course mid-way between the Gorakhpur and Saran districts on the west and Champaran and Muzaffarpur districts on the east, and meets the Ganges opposite Patna. We have, however, a passage of the *Mahābhārata* which mentions Sadānīrā and Gaṇḍak separately; and so the two may not be identical<sup>3</sup>: *Gaṇḍakīṇca Mahāśonam Sadānīrām tathāivaca*.<sup>4</sup> The river Sadānīrā is also identified by some with the Rapti.<sup>5</sup> In that case the eastern frontier of the Kośala country marched with Rapti (which takes a course mid-way between the Basti and Gorakhpur districts), and thence with the Gogra with which it unites.<sup>6</sup>

There were other countries of the name of Kośala, for the *Mahābhārata* employs the distinctive epithet Uttara Kośala.<sup>7</sup> Kośala in the Buddhist texts generally denoted the northern country as described above, and referred to in mediaeval inscriptions as Uttara Kośala.<sup>8</sup> The name 'Ottarakośala' also occurs in a Grant of the Kanauj king Jayacandra<sup>9</sup> evidently referring to the Kośala of Ayodhyā.<sup>10</sup> The lexicographer Puruṣottamadeva writes that Ayodhyā, Uttara Kosala and Sāketa are the various designations of one and the same country.<sup>11</sup>

The name Uttara kośala could have been current in popular use

to be located "near Dharmauli on the frontier of Nepal and Gorakhpur" (JRAS. 1902, p. 151).

<sup>1</sup> Rām, ii. 49. 11.    <sup>2</sup> CH. I. 308.    <sup>3</sup> Oldenburg, Buddha, p. 398fn.

<sup>4</sup> Mbh., ii. 20. 27.    <sup>5</sup> MP, p. 294 fn.

<sup>6</sup> If Sadānīrā was the Rapti it would consequently imply that the geographical limit of the ancient Videha kingdom on the west was formed by the rivers Sadānīrā (Rapti) and Gogra, in other words, it meant the inclusion of modern Gorakhpur and Saran districts within it, of which the former was inhabited by the Mallas.

<sup>7</sup> ii. 303. Cf. *Raghuvamśa*, ix. 17.

<sup>8</sup> EI. XXIV 293; XIV. 196.    <sup>9</sup> IA. XVIII. 130, line 4.

<sup>10</sup> Cf. Mbh., ii. 20. 28. *Uttāryasarayūmrāyāṁ dṛṣṭvā pūrvamēca Kośalān*. This is surely a reference to Kośala proper just as, Kānti kośala of another passage (vi. 9. 40) bears a similar indication. We have also a reference to *Pañcakośalas* in the *Vāyu Purāṇa* of which the Mekalas were one (Pargiter, *Dynasties of the Kali Age*, p. 3).

<sup>11</sup> TKS, p. 31: *Sāketamāyo dhyaottarakośalāh*. In the *Vaijayantī* (p. 159, v. 5) and *Abhidhānacintāmaṇi* (p. 389), Sāketa, Ayodhyā and Kosala are treated as synonymous terms.

only with reference to a southern country of this name called Dākṣiṇa kośala. Pargiter thinks that the long stay of Rāma, in course of his exile in the Chhattisgarh district, might have connected it with his home Kośala, and hence the name of Dākṣiṇa-kośala.<sup>1</sup> The *Rāmāyaṇa* knows the existence of two Kośalas, and states that Uttara kośala which was given to Lava<sup>2</sup> had its metropolis at Śrāvastī,<sup>3</sup> while Kośala which was given to Kuśa had its metropolis at Kuśāvastī near the Vindhya.<sup>4</sup> The *Mahābhārata* likewise links a Kośala country with Bhojakutaṭapura and other south-Indian principalities.<sup>5</sup>

Kośala of the Allahabad Pillar Inscription<sup>6</sup> was evidently the country of this name in the south. The inscriptions of the Somavarmśī kings (c. 950-1125 A.D.) who styled themselves '*Kośalādhipatī*' have been found near the Raipur District in C.P. Śrīpura (modern Sirpur) in the Raipur district, continued to be the capital of this dynasty at least from the time of Trīvaradeva to that of Mahāśivagupta Bālārjuna.<sup>7</sup> The Rājim and the Baloda Plates of Mahāśiva Tivararāja, who is styled as the Lord of Kośala,<sup>8</sup> refer to Sripura, the ancient capital of Mahākosala situated on the bank of the Mahānadī in the Raipur district, from which his plates were issued.<sup>9</sup> Another record was issued from Śarabhapura, which has been variously identified with Sambalpur, Sarangarh, Sarpagarh and other places.<sup>10</sup> Other records prove the inclusion of Sambalpur district, and possibly also of the feudatory State of Sonpur to its south within Kośala-deśa or Dākṣiṇa Kosala; because Satallamā (modern Satalma) in Sambalpur<sup>11</sup> and Nibinnā in Sonpur<sup>12</sup> are described as villages of '*Kaśaloḍā-viṣaya*.' That Sonpur formed a part of '*Sakala Kośala*' is also referred to in the Patna museum plates of Someśvara II, the '*Sakala Kosalādhīśvara*,' who issued the plates while residing there: *Svarṇapura samīvasāt*.<sup>13</sup> A Grant of Mahāśivagupta who is called Lord of Trikaṇṇa and Kośala was also issued from Suvarṇapura which was his camp of victory (*Vijayakataṭaka*).<sup>14</sup>

<sup>1</sup> AIHT, p. 278.

<sup>2</sup> Rām., vii. 120 7.

<sup>3</sup> Ibid. vii. 121. 5.

<sup>4</sup> Ibid. verse 4. L. P. P. Sarma says that the *Rāmāyaṇa* mentions two Kośalas (IHQ. III. 68-72).

<sup>5</sup> ii. 31. 12. <sup>6</sup> CH. III. 12, line 19.

<sup>7</sup> EI. XXIII. 118-19. <sup>8</sup> Ibid. p. 19. <sup>9</sup> EI. XXII. 17.

<sup>10</sup> EI. XXI. 19; IHQ. XIX. 144 fn. <sup>11</sup> EI. XI. 103, line 9.

<sup>12</sup> Ibid. lines 4, 5, 15 and 16. <sup>13</sup> EI. XIX. 99, line 14.

<sup>14</sup> JBORS. 1916, II. pp. 45 ff. The inscription opens with a description of the *Pattana*-Suvarṇapura which is stated to have been situated on the confluence of the Mahānadī and the Tel (Ibid. plate 1, L. 10, p. 52). This is obviously the Sonpur town of the Sonpur Feudatory State situated on the Mahānadī river at its junction with the Tel.

A plate of Mahābhavagupta, who calls himself an ornament of the Soma family, was issued from a place near Bolangir in the Feudatory State of Patna,<sup>1</sup> while another was issued from Mūrasīma which is Mursinga in the same state.<sup>2</sup> The provenance of these inscriptions indicates that the Sambalpur region, and particularly the South Mahānadī Valley comprising Sonpur, Patna, Sarangarh and Raipur was known as Mahākośala or Kośala of the south. But the Haihaya records on the other hand prove the inclusion of Bilaspur in Kośala. In the Ratnapura stone inscription of Jajalladeva of the (Chedi) year 866, it is said of an early Haihaya prince that he conquered Dakṣiṇa Kośala, and established his capital at Tum māṇa : *Dakṣiṇa-Kośalo janapado vā (bā) hu-dvayēnārjjitaḥ Rājadhānīsa Tum māṇaḥ pūrvavajaiḥ kṛtaityaa*.<sup>3</sup> Tum māṇa is the same as the modern village of Tumana in the Lapha Zamindari of the Bilaspur district. Rai Bahadur Hirralal says that Bilaspur and Raipur formed the central portion of Dakṣiṇa Kośala, and that the capital was either Sonpur or Bhandak.<sup>4</sup>

It is however possible to state on epigraphic authority that Kośala of the south, consisted of the following *viśayas* at various dates : Telātaṭṭa-*viśaya*,<sup>5</sup> Lāvaḍā-*viśaya*,<sup>6</sup> Povā-*viśaya*,<sup>7</sup> Bhrāṇḍa-

<sup>1</sup> EI. XXII. 136. The plate records the grant of Liñjira (Sarangarh State) in the neighbourhood of the Pṛthurā-*bhukti* (Pithorā about 45 miles to the NW. from the Sambalpur town). It appears that the Somavarman rulers of Mahākośala held sway over modern Patna and Sarangarh States of Orissa. The Patna State is separated from Sambalpur and Sonpur on the north by the Ong. The Tel divides Patna from Kālāhandī on the south. It lies in the valley of the Mahānadī watered by the Suktal and the Tel, bounded on the west by the Raipur district, and on the east by the Baud State. The head-quarters are at Bolāngir.

<sup>2</sup> EI. XI. 102 and 198. Cf. also the Kālibhanā Copper-plate Inscriptions of Mahābhavagupta edited by Sircar and Rath (IHQ. XX. 237 ff.). The writers are of opinion that this Somavarman King Mahā-Bhavagupta Janamejaya son of Śivagupta should be designated Mahābhavagupta I.

<sup>3</sup> EI. I. 34, line 7.

<sup>4</sup> IA, Sept. 1933, pp. 161-66. For other papers on Mahākośala, see L. P. Pandeya in Mahākośala Historical Society's Papers, Vol. I.

<sup>5</sup> JASB. 1905, Vol. I, p. 7. It is obviously a country on the bank of the modern Tel, and as the donee was a resident of Antaradi in the Lāvaḍā-*viśaya* which is identified with mod. Lebda, 48 miles south-west of Bolangir, Patna State (EI. XI. 201), the Telātaṭṭa-*viśaya* may have been to the south of Patna where Tel separates Patna from Kālāhandī.

<sup>6</sup> Although it is not mentioned as belonging to Kośala-deśa in the Grant, it is clear that it formed another part of Kośala, as it was near the Telātaṭṭa-*viśaya* in Patna.

<sup>7</sup> EI. III. 347, line 4 : *Kośala-dēśe Povā Viśayāya*. Povā is Pow, 12 miles NE. of Bolangir (EI. XI. 199). Mention is made of Potā-*viśaya* in the Kālibhanā

*viṣaya*,<sup>1</sup> *Sanūlā-viṣaya*,<sup>2</sup> *Marada-viṣaya*,<sup>3</sup> *Yodhā-viṣaya*,<sup>4</sup> *Uttaravalli-viṣaya*,<sup>5</sup> *Khaṅgadyanhā-viṣaya*,<sup>6</sup> *Devībhoga-viṣaya*,<sup>7</sup> *Ṭok-kārā-viṣaya*.<sup>8</sup>

Kośala in *Dakṣiṇāpatha*<sup>9</sup> is regarded as equivalent to the modern districts of Bilaspur,<sup>10</sup> Raipur and Sambalpur, but widely speaking, it perhaps embraced the whole country, from the confines of Berar on the west to Orissa on the east, and from the Maikala Hills on the north to about Kanker in C. P. on the south.<sup>11</sup> Regionally speaking, *Dakṣiṇa Kośala* was thus a *Mahājanapada* of *Dakṣiṇāpatha*.

inscription of Mahā-Bhavagupta I. *Potā* is equated with *Povā* (IHQ. XX. 240, fn. 9).

<sup>1</sup> JBORS. II. p. 53, line 6.

<sup>2</sup> EI. XI. 200 and 403. It is mentioned in the Patna Grant of Dhāradata which also refers to *Jalajaḍḍa* in *Kośala*. The *Viṣaya* has been identified with *Soinnūlā*, in the Patna State, 22 miles SW. of Talagaja (EI. XI. 200). *Jalajaḍḍa* is modern *Jalajodo* near Talagaja, 10 miles SE. of Bolangir (EI. XI. 200).

<sup>3</sup> EI. III. 352, line 25: *Dakṣiṇasālāyām Marada-Viṣaya*. Here *Tosala* is a mistake for *Kośala* (fn. 11).

<sup>4</sup> IA. V. 55. Possibly the modern Pargana of Jodh a few miles from Katak.

<sup>5</sup> EI. XII. 240, lines 8-9: *Uttaravalli-Viṣaya-sam-Kēsalo-rā (jya) Khandīya*.

It may be the same as *Uttaratira* division of Sonpur

<sup>6</sup> EI. III. 356, lines 31-32.

<sup>7</sup> EI. III. 357, line 38. It is in the extreme south of the Raipur district (EI. XI. 200).

<sup>8</sup> IHQ. XX. 247, L 5. It is identified with *Ṭukrā*, about 14 miles to the east of the town.

<sup>9</sup> EI. III. 351-54.

<sup>10</sup> It is a district in the Chhattisgarh Division. Archaeological remains are numerous showing that it was the seat of Aryan culture from a very early time. Its early history is connected with the Haihayas who ruled from Ratanpur 16 miles north of Bilaspur town. The territories of the Haihaya kings comprised 36 garhs or forts and the name Chhattisgarh came into being. Ratanpur was founded by king Ratnarāja (EI. I. 35, vs. 11-12) of this dynasty. *Tuṃmāṇa*, referred to as the capital city, is also mentioned as a *deśa* (IA. XX. 84 ff; EI. I. 47, vs. 8). From other inscriptions we know that in ancient times the district was divided into some *Maṇḍalas*, such as *Komo-maṇḍala* (IA. XVII. 137; EI. XIX. 75), *Yayapara-maṇḍala* (EI. XIX. 75-81) and *Madhya-maṇḍala* (IHQ. Sept. 1925, pp. 409-14). The first one has been identified with the Pendra Zamindari in the Bilaspur district, the second one with Jaijapur, 10 miles from Amoda which, is again of the same distance from Jaijgir, the head-quarters of a tahsil of the same name in the district, and the third one with the Lepha Zamindari.

<sup>11</sup> EI. X. 26. The Kuruspal (in Bastar State) inscription of Someśvara gives a list of country names some of which perhaps formed parts of *Dakṣiṇa Kośala*. They are *Udra* (Orissa), *Lañji* (in Balaghat), *Ratnapura* (Bilaspur), *Lemba* (may be Lavana, the eastern tract of the Raipur district), *Veṅgi* (the country between

## 38. AVANTAS

The *Mahājanapada* of Avanti emerged into importance during the age of Buddha as a centre of great political and religious activity.<sup>1</sup> In the *Kathā-Sāgara*, Avanti's capital Ujjayinī is celebrated as a city, representing the best traditions of Indian culture.<sup>2</sup>

Ujjenī, is the same as the modern Ujjain, situated in the centre of Malwa, on the right bank of the Sipra. The city is mentioned by Pāṇini; in the 'Periplus', Ozene is noted as a trading centre, a flourishing seat of inland trade, whence many commodities were exported through the port of Barugaza or Broach near Surat.<sup>3</sup> Hiuen-Tsang recorded that in *U-She-yan-na*, population was dense and the establishment wealthy.<sup>4</sup> According to early Buddhist tradition, India was divided into seven political divisions of which Avanti with its capital Māhissatī was one.<sup>5</sup> Dr. Bhandarkar says that this was Avanti Dakṣiṇāpatha of Buddhist text,<sup>6</sup> presumably standing for the country to the south of the Narmada, known also as Māhismatī, as referred to in the Great Epic.<sup>7</sup>

Māhismatī<sup>8</sup> is the same as Māhissatī, and is regarded as identical with the modern village of Māndhātā in the Nimar district (C.P.) :

the Godāvarī and Kṛmā) Bhadrā-pattana (a variant of Bhadrāvati, the present Bhandak) and Vajra (Wairāgarh which adjoins the Bastar State, being only 70 miles from Bhāndak, Ibid p 27) But the application of the name Dakṣiṇa Kōśala in a limited sense is also found. The Ratnapura stone inscription of Jājalladeva (EI. I. 32-39) gives the name Dakṣiṇa Kōśala-maṇḍala in a list of other such *maṇḍalas* which are—Andhra, Khimdi (Khimdi in the Ganjam district see IA XVI. 131 and JBORS II p. 433, fn 8, which survives in Parlākimedi), Vairāgara (Wairagarh in the Chanda district), Chanda (formerly known as Chāhanda, see EI. XXV. 203), Lañjika (same as Lañji in Balaghat CP), Bhānāra (may be some portion of the Bhāndārā in C P., 38 miles from Nagpur, anciently known as Bhāndāgāra, see EI XXV 206), Tabhāri (IA XVII 167), Dandakapura (can it be the Bastar States?), Nandāvalī and Kukkuta (it may be a variant of Chakrakūta or Śakkarakkottam, which lay near the present capital of Bastar; its modern representative being Chitrakūta, see EI X. 26). In the Rajim inscription (IA. XVII. 137-140, lines 10-11) we have a list of ancient country names of the neighbouring places. They are:—Bhramaravadra (Barma), Kāntāra, Kusumabhoga, Kāndāse (hva) ra (Sihua east of Kanker), Kākayara (Kanker in C P.) and Śaraharāgaḍh (Sarangarh east of Raipur).

<sup>1</sup> B. C. Law, *Ancient Mid-Indian Kṣatriya tribes*, vol I, p. 139 and pp. 145-46.

<sup>2</sup> KSSR, II. p. 69, 242. <sup>3</sup> Periplus, p. 48.

<sup>4</sup> BR, II, p. 270.

<sup>5</sup> Supra p. 49, fn. 10. Buddhist and Jaina writers knew of two other cities of Avanti such as Kuraraghara and Sudarsanapura (B. C. Law, *Geography of Early Buddhism*, p. 22).

<sup>6</sup> CL, p. 45.

<sup>7</sup> ii. 31. 10.

<sup>8</sup> The *Mahābhārata* (ii. 31. 21) refers to it as a city. In an inscription (EI. XXV. 32) it is written as Māhimsatī. But Māhismatī is the usual form of the name in which it appears in other inscriptions (EI. IX. 106; XIX. 262).

the village standing on the south bank of the Narmadā.<sup>1</sup> The Avanti country lay extended on both sides of the Narmadā river reaching upto Rajputana on the north and perhaps the Tapti on the south. But Avanti of later inscriptions and literature denoted the northern country i.e. Avanti proper, the capital of which was Ujjayini, and was bounded by the river Narmadā on the south.<sup>2</sup> This country again, seems to have been divided into two parts, as a passage of the *Rāmāyana* indicates: *Ābrabantīmavantīñca sarvamebānupaśyata*.<sup>3</sup> A similar reference is contained in two famous inscriptions of western India of the first part of the second century A.D. Thus the Nasik record of queen Gautamī Balaśrī mentions 'Ākarāvanti', and the Junagadh Rock inscription of Rudradāman refers to '*Pūrvāparākarāvantiya*';<sup>4</sup> and in both cases the names are taken to represent east and west Malwa. The two names in the *Rāmāyana* are Ābravanti and Avanti. Avanti is Avanti proper i.e. the region centering round Ujjayini, and Ābravanti perhaps represents Ākara or East Malwa,<sup>5</sup> comprising the eastern portion of the Bhopal State of which Vidisha was the recognised capital. Ābravanti or East Avanti, and Avanti, taken together, consequently embraced the western section of Central India, that high-level region known as Malwa which Hemacandra considered as identical with Avanti.<sup>6</sup> An Ujjain

<sup>1</sup> JRAS 1910, pp. 444-45. Cf. Raghu vi. 43. Some writers identify it with Mahesvar a town in the Indore State on the right bank of the river (EI. IX. 106). Dr. B. C. Law notes that a river of the Māndhātā region called Māhishāki is mentioned in the *Rāmāyana* (TAI, p. 386). In the *Vaijayanti*, Māhishmati is identified with Vrkaṣṭhali (VJN, p. 159, v. 9). The *Harivamśa* states that Mucukunda son of Māndhātā built the famous city called Māhishmati on the bank of the river Narmadā in a hilly place of the Middle Vindhya region, enframed by the Rkṣa ranges (HV, ii. 38. 14-19). Dr. H. C. Roy Choudhuri says that Vindhya was the general designation of the whole chain of hills lying on both sides of the Narmadā, and that Rkṣa 'lay in the region of the Central Vindhyas, near Saugor' (JDL. 1929, XIX, pp. 19-22), in the days of Ptolemy. The evidence of the *Harivamśa*, however, cannot be regarded as conclusive as the Purānic writers were not always in agreement with regard to the application of the name Rkṣa and Vindhya which were occasionally treated as convertible (Cf. DD, p. 168). The position of Māndhātā, which stands on the south bank of the river Narmadā (IG. XVIII. 375-76) on "terraces scarped out of the sides of a hill", satisfies the conditions generally.

<sup>2</sup> Cf. Avanti-deśa of *Kumārapāla-carita* of Jayasimha Sūri (DHNI, II, pp. 985-86). <sup>3</sup> iv. 41. 10. <sup>4</sup> EI. VIII. 61.

<sup>5</sup> Ibid. 41.

<sup>6</sup> It is held that Ākara means E. Malwa and Avanti W. Malwa (DD, p. 3) and so the inscriptional name 'Ākarāvanti' refers to East and West Malwa.

<sup>7</sup> *Mālavāḥ syuravantiyaḥ* (Abhidhāna, p. 381); see also IHQ. XXIV. 175-76; TKS, p. 31.

inscription which is dated V.S. 1195 (c. 1138 A.D.) refers to Anahilapataka as being the royal residence of 'Avantinātha'.<sup>1</sup> From the copper plate inscription of Gaonri of 982 A.D.,<sup>2</sup> we learn that Avanti-maṇḍala comprised the Bhukti of Maddhuka (mod. Mhow the cantonment near Indore) and the Ujjayanī-*viṣaya*.<sup>3</sup>

But Malwa and Avanti are distinguished in many early texts such as the *Kāmasūtra* and *Nāṭyaśāstra* (3rd century A.D.).<sup>4</sup> When so distinguished, Avanti perhaps comprised the tract lying between the Chambal river on the west, and the Pārbati on the east. The corresponding portion of the river Narmadā formed the southern boundary, the northern boundary being formed by the southern states of Rajputana.

According to the historical tradition of the Purāṇas the first dynasty of Māhismatī was the Haihaya dynasty. Epic and Purāṇic traditions unanimously represent the Haihayas as ruling in the Avanti-Māndhātā region. Tradition runs that Kṛtavīrya's son Arjuna raised the Haihaya power to eminence, and captured Māhismatī from the Karkotaka Nāgas.<sup>5</sup> Many inscriptions go to show that this section of the Narmadā Valley was the stronghold of the Haihayas. A Haihaya king is even mentioned as the Lord of the city of Māhismatī: *Māhismatī-puravareśvara*.<sup>6</sup> But the Haihayas including their five constituent elements or branches namely the Vītihoṭras, Śāryātas, Bhojas, Avantis and Tuṇḍikeras, all belonging to the family of Yadu,<sup>7</sup> were spread over the whole extent of country from the river Jumna to the river Tapti.<sup>8</sup>

Early Indian literature connects many tribal names with the Māhismatī region. The Māhisakas lived in the country of Avanti-Dakṣiṇā-patha; for, according to the *Harivaṃśa*<sup>9</sup> Mahisa was the country of Māhismatī. The commentator Bhaṭṭasvāmī also identifies Mahisa of Kautilya with Māhismatī.<sup>10</sup> Mahisa or Māhisaka, thus referred to the country on the Narmada of which Māhismatī was the capital.<sup>11</sup> A Grant of Karaka Suvarṇavarṣa (Śaka 746 = c. 824 A.D.) records that the Māhiṣaka-*viṣaya* consisted of 42 villages of which Brāhmaṇapallikā was one.<sup>12</sup> The village has been identified with

<sup>1</sup> DHNI, II, p. 966.

<sup>2</sup> EI. XXIII. 102.

<sup>3</sup> It may be noted that Hemacandra considers Ujjayanī and Avanti as synonymous names (*Abhidhāna*, p. 390). But it is the city that is more famous in Indian tradition. In the *Abhidhānappadīpikā* Ujjeni is placed in the list of 20 ancient cities (*Supra* p. 41, fn. 11).

<sup>4</sup> Cf. *Bhāgavata Purāṇa* (xii. 1. 28 ff); also IHQ. XXIV. 176, fn. 32.

<sup>5</sup> AIHT, p. 266.

<sup>6</sup> EI. XII. 269 ff.

<sup>7</sup> AIHT, p. 102.

<sup>8</sup> MP, p. 371; AIHT, p. 267.

<sup>9</sup> i. 14.

<sup>10</sup> AS, p. 83, fn. 4.

<sup>11</sup> *Padma Purāṇa*, Ādi. ch. 6.

<sup>12</sup> EI. XXII. 77.



Bamroli in the Baroda State. The Narmada skirts a good portion of the Baroda State; the association of Māhiṣaka with the West-Narmadā Valley is thus clearly indicated.<sup>1</sup> Another people called Purikas settled near the Narmada and the Māhiṣmatī region, as *Harivamśa* states<sup>2</sup> that Mucukunda built a town called Purikā in the centre of the Rkṣa mountains.<sup>3</sup>

The Māhiṣmatī section was also known as Anūpa; in the *Raghuvamśa* it is clearly stated that Māhiṣmatī, on the Revā, was the capital of the Anūpa country.<sup>4</sup> In the Junagadh inscription, Anupanivṛt is mentioned between Ākarāvantī, and Ānartta; and in the Nasik record of queen Gautamī Balaśrī, it is placed between Aparānta and Vidarbha.<sup>5</sup> In these notices the name is taken to stand for the district around Māhiṣmatī,<sup>6</sup> and this agrees with the reference we have of the country in the *Raghuvamśa*. But Anūpa is explained in the *Abhidhānacintāmaṇi* as meaning a tract of land near water, and an illustration is given by a reference to Kaccha.<sup>7</sup> In the *Mahābhārata* Anūpa is mostly mentioned as a coastal portion of the sea: “Sāgarānūpavāsinaḥ”<sup>8</sup> and “Sāgarānūpakāmścaiva teca prāntā vāsinaḥ.”<sup>9</sup>

Anupa is here considered as a general term for the area of the coastal band of alluvium formed by the encroachment of the sea. Yet an Anupa country near or within the Māhiṣmatī region certainly existed. The *Harivamśa* refers to the city of Māhiṣmatī, the capital of ‘Narmadānūpa’ as nestling under the shelter of the Rksavat Mt.<sup>10</sup> Pargiter thinks that the mouth of the river Narmada was called Anūpa.<sup>11</sup>

Near about the Anupa country there lived a people called the Rśikas. A *Sloka* of the *Mahābhārata* conveniently brings them into

<sup>1</sup> But this Māhiṣaka-*viśaya* is to be distinguished from Māhiṣa-*viśaya* of the Salotgi (Bijapur dt.) Pillar inscription (EI. III. 59) which is regarded as identical with the Mahiṣa-*mandala* of the *Mahāvamśa* (fn. 2). Mahiṣa-*mandala* has been identified by Rice with the Southern Mysore country, of which Mysore (Maisūr) was the principal town (DD, p. 120). The Mahiṣa-*viśaya* is also mentioned in the Hebbata Grant of Kadamba Viṣṇu-Varman (AR. 1925, p. 98).

<sup>2</sup> AIHT, p. 262; HV, ii. 38. 20-22. See supra p. 68 fn. 1.

<sup>3</sup> Mārķ. Purāṇa, ch. 57. A place called Purikā is mentioned in connection with the rule of the first king of the Andhra dynasty (PHAI, p. 330). A place of this name occurs in a votive label at Barhut (No. 30, p. 14, Barhut Inscriptions, Barua and Sinha, 1926, Calcutta). Purikā, the Vākāṭaka capital, was situated somewhere in Berar (NHIP, VI. 114).

<sup>4</sup> VI, 37-43.

<sup>5</sup> EI. VIII. 41. 61.

<sup>6</sup> PHAI, p. 421 & 424.

<sup>8</sup> ii. 30. 27.

<sup>7</sup> Abhidhāna, p. 380, v. 19.

<sup>9</sup> iii. 51. 23.

<sup>10</sup> Dr. H. C. Roychaudhuri in JDL. 1929, Vol. XIX, p. 20.

<sup>11</sup> AIHT, p. 266, fn. 2.

contact with the Anupa country : '*Kāmbojā Rṣikā yeca Paścimānu-paṣāśca*.<sup>1</sup> The Rṣikas are regarded as the same as Asika of the Nasik record of queen Gautamī Balaśrī;<sup>2</sup> and are perhaps referred to in the *Rāmāyaṇa* as Rṣṭikas which is evidently a corruption of Rṣikas. The passage containing the name runs thus : "*Vidarbhāṇṛṣṭikāṁścaiva ramyān Māhiṣakānapi*."<sup>3</sup>

The association of the Rṣikas with Anupa and Māhiṣaka is an indication positive enough to suggest, that like their companions, the Rṣikas also settled in the central section of the Narmadā valley, between Vidarbha and Māhiṣmatī.<sup>4</sup> They are connected by one writer with the Raṭṭis, Raṭṭhis, or Rāṣṭrikas, the early inhabitants of Mahārāṣṭra.<sup>5</sup> Dr. D. C. Sircar draws our attention to a passage of the Hāthigumphā inscription of Khāravela, which would indicate that the Asika-Rṣika country has to be looked for in the country between the Kṛṣṇā and the Godāvarī rivers.<sup>6</sup>

### 39. KALINGAS

The mention of Kalinga as an impure country, in the *Dharma-Sūtra* of Baudhāyana represents a very orthodox view of the early Brāhmaṇical writers; for a Jaina tradition of a very remote period groups them into a class of eastern 'Āriyas' and even mentions a city of the Kalingas called Kāmchaṇapura.<sup>7</sup> Aśoka's famous Rock Edict XIII tends to prove that they were within the pale of Aryan civilization; Brahmans, ascetics and men of different sects are represented to have been living in Kalinga. The Edict also tends to prove the antiquity of Kalinga as the seat of an independent kingdom in early times. Epic traditions also agree in considering the Kalingas as one of the most important peoples of Eastern India; they are represented in the *Mahābhārata* as taking a great part in the Kurukṣetra war.

The Kalinga Edicts of Aśoka found at Dhauli<sup>8</sup> and Jaugada<sup>9</sup> are addressed to the *Mahāmātras* at Tosālī and Samāpā, which may have been the early capitals of Kalinga. Tosālī or Tosala presumably occupied the same site as that of Dhauli today, the transformation of Tosali into Dhauli being not a phonetic impossibility.<sup>10</sup> As for

<sup>1</sup> v. 4. 18.

<sup>2</sup> EI. VIII. 61.

<sup>3</sup> Rām., iv. 41. 10.

<sup>4</sup> The Mbh., (ii. 27. 25) refers to a people called the Uttara Rṣikas along with the Kāmbojas.

<sup>5</sup> GDRD, p. 44.

<sup>6</sup> SI. 198, fn. 3.

<sup>7</sup> IA. XX. 375, also Supra p. 30, fn. 2.

<sup>8</sup> A hill in the Khurda sub-division of Puri, about 7 miles south of Bhubanesvar.

<sup>9</sup> This is about 18 miles west of Ganjam town, on the north bank of Rṣikulyā river, in the Berhampur-taluk of the Ganjam district.

<sup>10</sup> S. Levi, Pre-Aryan and Pre-Dravidian India, trans. by P. Bagchi, p. 68.

Samāpā, it is very plausibly suggested, that the head-quarters of the districts to which the modern Jaugaḍa belongs was called Samāpā.<sup>1</sup> These references to Tosālī (Dhauḷī), Samāpā (Ganjam?) and Jaugaḍa (Khapimṅgala), are indications that in Aśoka's time the Mahānadī-Rṣikulyā Valley formed a part of Kalinga.

But Tosala was also the name of a country, as we have a reference to the Tosala-*viṣaya*, and even to the division of the country into two parts, Uttara Tosala<sup>2</sup> and Dakṣiṇa Tosala.<sup>3</sup> Dakṣiṇa Tosala is considered to be the same as the country (Janapada) of "Amita-Tosala" of Dakṣiṇāpatha, which according to *Gaṇḍavyūha*, as pointed out by S. Levi, had a city called Tosala.<sup>4</sup> Dakṣiṇa Tosala was a wide territorial division; the combined evidence of several inscriptions implies that it consisted of a *Viṣaya* called Anarudra<sup>5</sup> and a *Maṇḍala* of the name of Koṅgoda.<sup>6</sup>

Koṅgoda-*maṇḍala* is mentioned largely in the epigraphs of the Sailodbhavas;<sup>7</sup> and as their records referring to the *Maṇḍala* have been mostly found at Cuttock, Khurda and Ganjam, it follows that this *Maṇḍala* was roughly equivalent to the region bounded by the river Mahānadī on the north and the Rṣikulyā on the south. It may have been even bigger than that, as according to the epigraphic sources it consisted of the following *Viṣayas*:—Varaḍākhaṇḍa-*viṣaya*,<sup>8</sup> Arttaṇi-*viṣaya*,<sup>9</sup> Khidīn'gahāra-*viṣaya*,<sup>10</sup> Kaṭaka-bhukti-*viṣaya*,<sup>11</sup> Kṛṣṇagiri-*viṣaya*.<sup>12</sup>

Uttara Tosala appears to have been smaller in extent than Dakṣiṇa Tosala, and its *Viṣayas* so far known were Pāñcāla, Vubhyudaya,<sup>13</sup> and Sarēph-āhāra.<sup>14</sup> Reference is also made to

Levi says that the vestiges of a large city that have come to light near the site of Dhauḷī confirm this identification and indicate beyond doubt that in Aśoka's time Dhauḷī or Tosālī was the capital of Kalinga. <sup>1</sup> CII. J, p. XXXVIII.

<sup>2</sup> EI. XV. 1-3, vs. 5.

<sup>3</sup> EI. IX. 286-7, vs. 4.

<sup>4</sup> Levi, op. cit. p. 68.

<sup>5</sup> JBORS. 1923, pp. 292-306.

<sup>6</sup> EI. VI. 141, L. 21: *Dakṣiṇakosālāyām Koṅgoda-maṇḍalake*. It is pointed out that here Kosāla is a mistake for Tosala (JBORS. V. 564-78, lines 26-28).

<sup>7</sup> Cf. EI. XXI. 35.

<sup>8</sup> EI. VI. 138, line 26.

<sup>9</sup> Ibid. 141-42.

<sup>10</sup> JBORS. V. 564-78, lines 26-8.

<sup>11</sup> EI. XI. 288 and 286.

<sup>12</sup> This occurs in a plate of the time of Śaśāṅkarāja (G. S. 300=619-20 A.D.). Its records the grant made by Mādhavarāja II of a village in the Kṛṣṇagiri-*viṣaya* (EI. VI. 144) which is regarded as identical with its synonym Nilagiri, a name of Jagannath (Puri). The grant was issued 'from the victorious Koṅgēda (L. 8) on the bank of the Śālīma river (L. 7, EI. VI. 144). Koṅgēda is also mentioned in the form of Kaiṅgoda, as a place name in the Buguḍa Plates of Mādhavarman (EI. III. 44, lines 29-30) which record the grant of a village in the Khadira-*pāṭṭaka* of the Guḍḍa-*viṣaya* (L. 31). See also R. C. Mazumdar in JAHRS. X. 7-10.

<sup>13</sup> EI. XV. 3, line 3, 6.

<sup>14</sup> EI. XXIII. 202.

Subhadeva-*pataka* in Uttara Tosala.<sup>1</sup> The Nelur Grant refers to certain villages of Uttara Tosala which have been located in the Balasore district.<sup>2</sup> The evidence we get from the Copper-plates of Soro (Balasore district), which record the grant of land in a village adjoining Sarāphā (Soro in Balasore) in Uttara Tosala<sup>3</sup> also indicates that the Balasore region was the centre of the Uttara Tosala country. These instances suggest the inference, that Tosala consisting of Uttara Tosala and Dakṣiṇa Tosala (in which was included Kongoda or Kungada-*mandala*), stood for the whole expanse of territory, extending from Suvarṇarekhā down to Rṣikulyā.

From an epigraphic point of view, we are bound to accept this position of the Tosala country, although it is not consistent enough with other indications of traditional and historical geography of this region. One of the most noticeable features of mediaeval inscriptions is the employment of more than one name for a particular region. Administrative designations like *Mandala*, *Bhukti* and *Viśaya* have been tacked on to country names, which in some cases, even when due allowance is made of changing political conditions of the time, cannot be accounted for.<sup>4</sup> And so far as traditional geography is concerned, epigraphy, which deals mostly with political geography is not always the best approach.

Tosala was not the name of the entire country as outlined above; its ancient appropriate application was confined within the limits of the city of that name,<sup>5</sup> the rest of the country being known by other names. Even Uttara Tosala formed only a part of Odra-*viśaya*, and, indeed, Odra was the more well-known name of this region.

In many inscriptions Odra is treated as a *Viśaya*.<sup>6</sup> In some records it is called a *Deśa*.<sup>7</sup> The inclusion of Uttara Tosala in Odra

<sup>1</sup> JBORS II 421                      <sup>2</sup> EI XV 2-3                      <sup>3</sup> EI XXIII 199

<sup>4</sup> For instance, in Plate C of the Copper-plates from Soro (EI XXIII 199) Varukāna-*viśaya* is said to have been within Sarāph-āhāra, which in Plate B of the same record (Ibid 202) is called a *Viśaya*. Further, we have noted that Sarāph-āhāra-*viśaya* was in Uttara Tosala (Ibid). Evidently, Uttara Tosala was bigger than a *Viśaya*. Curiously enough, the same record (Plate B) includes Uttara Tosala within Odra-*viśaya*. Odra-*viśayē Uttara-Tosalāyām* (202).

<sup>5</sup> One writer identifies Tosali with the modern Khijinga in Mayurbhanj whose border is being washed by the Vaitaraṇī (JAHS III 41 ff).

<sup>6</sup> (a) Copper-plate from Sora as mentioned above (b) The Talcher Grant (JASB XII (N S) 293, line 24) (c) The Bengal Asiatic Society's Grant (JASB 1909, V, (N S) pp 347-50, line 20)—mention is made of Odra-*viśaya* and its village Kuruvābhata.

<sup>7</sup> EI. VIII 141, line 16 mention is made of Odra-*deśa* and its village Puraṣamaṇḍapa; EI III 363, line 33 Odra-*deśa* and its village Śilābhaṇḍapātīr.

suggests that in about 508 A.D. (Soro plates) Odra embraced the region between the river Vaitaraṇī and Subarnarekhā. The Chinese traveller Hiuen Tsang does not mention Tosala, but refers to *Wu-t'u* or Uda country which he reached by travelling south-west above 700 li from Karnaśuvarṇa. On the south-east frontiers of the country, on the borders of the ocean, was the capital city *Che-li-to-lo*.<sup>1</sup> It is located in the Mahānadi delta and is connected with a channel still known as Chitratola, 16 miles below Cuttock. Again, a Grant of A.D. 899<sup>2</sup> shows that the name Odra (*viṣaya*), which was afterwards applied to the whole province was till then confined only to a small region, and originally denoted a district possibly near about Mayurbhanja. Evidently, all these accounts do not agree, but if we combine these bits of information, we see that the application of the term Odra comprehended the entire region from the Chilka lake to the Subarnarekhā river, exactly the tract to which the modern name Orissa has been applied.<sup>3</sup> A Telugu work refers to Oddādi and its capital Kataka.<sup>4</sup> Another evidence goes to prove that in the eleventh century portions of the Parlakimedi Estate in Ganjam was known as Odra-deśa.<sup>5</sup>

Many notices accompanied by indications, more or less positive, do not testify to the extension of the limits of Odra farther south. Hiuen Tsang journeyed south-west from *Wu-t'u* or Ota (Skt. Odra), and reached *Kung-yü-t'o* i.e. Kungada.<sup>6</sup> Similarly, by travelling south-west from Kungada he reached *Ka-leng-ka*, i.e. Kalinga.<sup>7</sup> The distance recorded by the pilgrim between one state and another in the case of this belt of eastern states has been found to be erroneous: for even by a liberal estimate of the former geographical limits of each of these ancient countries, a distance of about 1,200 li between Odra and Kungada, and that of 1,400 li from the latter to Kalinga is opposed to all known facts. These countries were

<sup>1</sup> YC II pp 193-95 BH, p 134 BR II, p 205

<sup>2</sup> EI XXV 159 <sup>3</sup> IG. XIX 249 Orissa means the country in which the speakers of Oriya form the dominant people Mediaeval inscriptions give various forms of the name such as Odivisa (IA IV 364), Oddāvādi (EI. V. 1088, Oddiya (EI IV 270) etc. It was the Oriya of Portuguese writers (DHNI I. p 491).

<sup>4</sup> EI XXV 298. In inscriptions we have reference to Kāthaka (EI VII 147) and Ka(daka) (Ibid 145) which refers to Cuttock. It was also the same as Kotājavī identified with the Kotdes in Sarkar Katak (DHNI. I, p 341) Another inscription of Śaka-Samvat 1377 distinctly refers to the city of Kataka as being situated on the bank of the Mahānadi (IA XX 392) In our text it is mentioned as Kaṭṭakasthala (No 23 of SE Division) which is a variant of Katakasthala.

<sup>5</sup> JAHS. X. 167. <sup>6</sup> YC, II p 196. <sup>7</sup> Ibid. 198.

essentially contiguous, and in some case were even found to be conterminous on epigraphic authority.

Thus the bearing that Koṅgoda was to the south-west of Odra as noticed by Hiuen Tsang is tolerably consistent, but Odra with its capital at Cuttock undoubtedly shared the country with Koṅgada. This country between the rivers Mahānadī and Rṣikulyā was variously known in ancient times. Mediaeval inscriptions already referred to prove that it was a part of Dakṣiṇa Tosala, and particularly equivalent to the Kongoda country; it was also known as Odra. The Bhuvanesvar stone inscription (12th century) refers to Ekāmra (mod. Bhuvanesvar) in Utkala-*visaya*; <sup>1</sup> in Aśoka's time it also formed a part of Kalinga. It is idle to speculate on the political reasons of such a variety of names, for none of these peoples excepting the Kalingas played any part in political history. But one point seems to be clear, it is this: the appropriate application of the name Kalinga ordinarily did not comprehend any region to the north of the river Rṣikulyā or Ganjam for the Rṣikulyā-Mahānadī valley was in a geographical position the same to which other names were assigned as verified by epigraphic notices. The statement of the *Mahābhārata* that the Kalinga country extends from the Vaitaranī is not supported by any inscription.

Of the other names of that region Utkala has been left out by Hiuen Tsang but Utkala-*visaya* was certainly conterminous with the region round Bhuvanesvar in the twelfth century as the local inscription proves.<sup>2</sup> A verse in a Odiyā manuscript refers to Khandagiri in Otkala.<sup>3</sup> Utkala, therefore, embraced a portion of the Kongoda country, but it is separately mentioned in the Marania-Mura charter of Mahāśivagupta where Odra is left out: *Kalinga-Koṅgadothkalaka Kośala*.<sup>4</sup> Now, if Kongoda was identical with the Mahānadī Rṣikulyā valley, the collocation of names suggests that Kalinga was to the south of Rṣikulyā and Utkala lay to the north of the Mahānadī river. Utkala is grouped with Mekala in the *Mahābhārata*.<sup>5</sup> The *Rāmāyana* also has a reference to this connection: *Mekalanu-thkalāmscaiva*.<sup>6</sup> It is quite possible that the Utkalas were living close to the Mekalas<sup>7</sup> i.e. the people inhabiting the Maikala Range which

<sup>1</sup> FI XIII 150-155 Utkala-deśa is referred to in another inscription (EI XI 20-26)

<sup>2</sup> Ibid

<sup>3</sup> HAIB, p. 27, fn. 5

<sup>4</sup> JBORS II 45 ff

<sup>5</sup> Mbh (B) vii 3 31, vi 9 39 ff

<sup>6</sup> iv 41 9 In a book of the Pāli canon, Okkalā or Ukkalā i.e. the Utkalas are mentioned along with the Mekalas (TAI, p. 334)

<sup>7</sup> Mekala is grouped with Kośala as a country in the Plates of Prithivisena II (EI IX. 269)

is the eastern outer wall of the Satpuras, bounding Chhattisgarh on the west and north.<sup>1</sup> In early times Utkala may have been the name of some region close to Maikāla in Kōśala-deśa. Pargiter thinks that the two names possess something in common, and that, Utkala comprised the southern portion of Chota Nagpur and the northern tributary states of Orissa.<sup>2</sup> The transfer or extension of the name to the country along the sea-board came perhaps later. The name Utkala implies that it was to the north of Kalinga: the location of Utkala-*viśaya* in what has been found to be the Kōṅgoda country agrees well with the references we have of Kalinga and Utkala. Kālidāsa takes no account of Odra, as does Hiuen Tsang of Utkala, which, according to the former stretched from the river Kapisā (Midnapore)<sup>3</sup> as far south as Kalinga.<sup>4</sup> Perhaps Odra was another name of Utkala from which the modern appellation of Orissa was derived.<sup>5</sup> Śri Puruṣottamadeva, king of Kalinga, and the author of the lexicon *Trikāṇḍaśeṣa*,<sup>6</sup> writes "*Audrā Utkalanāmāno*". In later times the names Utkala and Kōṅgoda seem to have been dropped in popular use, and the name Odra generally employed.<sup>7</sup>

All these raise a strong presumption that Kalinga lay to the south of Rṣikulyā. In the *Raghuvamśa* the Kalinga king is described as the overlord of both the Mahendra Hill<sup>8</sup> and the sea<sup>9</sup>; and similar references to the close connection of the country with the Mahendra mountain, which are also recorded in inscriptions,<sup>10</sup> suggest, that the territories round about the Mahendragiri<sup>11</sup> in the Ganjam district were in the heart of the Kalinga country. The Hāthigumphā inscription of Khāravela<sup>12</sup> refers to Kalinganagara<sup>13</sup> as being the

<sup>1</sup> Amarakantak, about 12 miles from Pendrā in Bilaspur, across the Rewah border, is the source of the Narmadā and Śon and forms the eastern peak of the Maikāla range. So the river Narmadā has been described by ancient writers as Mekalasutā. Śon is described as rising from Mount Mekala in the *Rāmāyaṇa*.

<sup>2</sup> MP, p. 327. For the etymology of 'Kala' in Ut-Kala and Me-kala and its connection with Kurāla of the Allahabad inscription of Samudragupta, see G. Ramadas in *IHQ*, I. 685. In the time of Śaśāṅka, Utkala-deśa was attached to the *Danḍa-bhukti*.

<sup>3</sup> Pargiter identifies it with the Cossye in Midnapore (MP, p. 327)

<sup>4</sup> *Raghu*, iv. 38.

<sup>5</sup> Levi, op. cit. p. 84.

<sup>6</sup> TKS, p. 31

<sup>7</sup> In a South-Indian inscription of A.D. 1336 (EI. XXI. 286) Orissa is referred to as Voḍḍiyarāya. Another Grant of Śaka Samvat 1523 refers to Orissa by the name of Oḍḍiya (EI. IV. 270). For Utkalas and Udras see B. C. Law in *Journal of Indian History*, XIX, Dec., 1940. Dr. R. C. Mazumdar writes that Utkala and Udra were used as synonymous terms for modern Orissa (JASB. XI, 1945, No. I, p. 7).

<sup>8</sup> vi. 53-4.

<sup>9</sup> See also v. 56.

<sup>10</sup> EI. XIX. 135; DHNI, I. p. 449 & 452.

<sup>11</sup> Cf. KSSR, I. p. 150.

<sup>12</sup> EI. XX. 79-80.

<sup>13</sup> L. 3.

capital. Most of the early Gangas of Kalinga<sup>1</sup> like Hastivarman,<sup>2</sup> Indravarman,<sup>3</sup> Devendravarman<sup>4</sup> who describe themselves as Lord of Kalinga (*sakala-Kalingādhirājya*) issued their Grants from the victorious camp (*Vijayavata*) at Kalinganagara.<sup>5</sup> The later Gaṅga kings of Kalinga also in most cases issued their Grants from this city.<sup>6</sup> The city is variously identified with Mukhalingam some 20 miles from Parlakimedi in the Ganjam district,<sup>7</sup> or with Calingapatam<sup>8</sup> a sea coast town in the Bay of Bengal about 20 miles from Chicacole at the mouth of the Vamsādhara river.<sup>9</sup> Besides Kalinga nagara, the Plates of the early Gaṅga kings of Kalinga, like Jayavarmanadeva and Indravarman, refer to the victorious residence of Śvātaka,<sup>10</sup> which has been sought to be identified with Chikati in the Ganjam district. Again, some epigraphs of a line of kings whose names end in Varman, and who call themselves '*Kalingādhipati*' throw much light on the history and geography of Kalinga.<sup>11</sup> Thus a Grant of Viśakhavarman<sup>12</sup> was issued from Śrīpura, which is regarded as identical with Siripuram in the Palkonda-*taluk* of the Vizagapatam district.<sup>13</sup> A Grant of Anantavarman was issued from the royal residence of Devapura, variously identified with places in the Srungavarapukota-*taluk* and in the Chicacole-*taluk*.<sup>14</sup> But '*Kalingādhipati*' Anantavarman also issued another Grant from the victorious city of Pistapura, which is the same as Pithāpuram in the Godavari district.<sup>15</sup> Grants of other kings like Candravarman and

<sup>1</sup> IA. XIII. 278.

<sup>2</sup> EI. XXIII. 65.

<sup>3</sup> EI. XXV. 195.

<sup>4</sup> EI. XXVI. 63.

<sup>5</sup> Ibid. 67.

<sup>6</sup> DHNI, I, p. 457-58.

<sup>7</sup> DHNI, I, p. 448 and 485 fn. 3. It was also called 'Nagara' (EI. XXIII. 65).

R. Subha Rao says that Mukhalingam was the ancient capital city of Kalinga both in times of the early and later Gaṅga kings (JAHS VI 56-62; 83-84).

<sup>8</sup> EI. XX. 79-80.

<sup>9</sup> Kalingapattana is perhaps also referred to in the Pattanabhoga of the Plates of Anantavarman (EI. XXIV. 49, fn. 5), 'which is evidently derived from Pattana perhaps an abbreviated form of Kalingapattana'.

<sup>10</sup> EI. XXIII. 261; XXIV. 181; EI. XXVI. 167.

<sup>11</sup> Dr. R. C. Mazumdar says that they 'ruled in Kalinga during the interval between the invasion of Samudragupta and the rise of the Gaṅga dynasty', and that they all flourished between 400 and 500 A.D. (EI. XXIII. 58 and EI. XXIV. 50).

<sup>12</sup> EI. XXI. 24.

<sup>13</sup> EI. XXI. 24; XXIV. 49, fn. 11. It is also identified with Sirpur, 18 miles from Parlakimedi in the Ganjam district (EI. XXIII. 119).

<sup>14</sup> EI. XXIV. 50.

<sup>15</sup> EI. XXIII. 57. The Grant in question records that Anantavarman's grandfather Guṇavarman ruled over Devarāṣṭra, which must have been the kingdom of the same name conquered by Samudragupta, and is identical with a *taluk* in the Vizagapatam district. Although it is treated separately from Pistapura in the



and Ananta-Saktivarman were issued from Singhapura.<sup>1</sup> One Grant of Umāvarman was issued from Vardhamānapura<sup>2</sup> and another from Sunagara.<sup>3</sup> The Jaina *Upāṅgu* called the *Prajñāpanā* refers to *Kāmchanapura*,<sup>4</sup> and the Mahābhārata to Rājapura<sup>5</sup> as the metropolis of Kalinga; while Dantapura a famous Kalinga city<sup>6</sup> has been plausibly connected with the fort of Dantavakra near Chicacole.<sup>7</sup> The *Kathā-Sāgara* refers to Sobhāvati as a Kalinga city.<sup>8</sup> Now, from a reference to all these principal cities in the records of kings calling themselves '*Kalingādhipati*', and from the epigraphs of the early and later Gaṅga kings as well, it is clear that the Kalinga country stretched along the eastern coast, from the Ganjam district in the north to the Godavari district in the south as far as the river of that name.<sup>9</sup> The country to the north of Ganjam as far as the river Mahānadī also occasionally formed part of Kalinga<sup>10</sup>, as in the

emperor's Allahabad inscription, the plate of Anantavarman indicates that he was ruling over Devaṛāstra, and Pistapura was the chief city of the kingdom. Now, if the Anantavarman of Siripuram plates (EI XXIV, 49) and of the present Grant are identical it will appear that he ruled over the entire country from the river Varṇasadhara to the river Godavari (JAHS VIII 155-56).

<sup>1</sup> EI XXIV 49. Cf. Singhapura of *Mahāvastu* (Senart's edition, p. 432), which may be mod. Singupuram near Chicacole.

<sup>2</sup> EI, XXIV 49. This is identified with Vādama in the Palkonda-taluk in the Vizagapatam district (EI XXIV 49, fn 14).

<sup>3</sup> Ibid. 50.

<sup>4</sup> IA XX 375; Supra p. 30, fn 2.

<sup>5</sup> xii. 4. 3.

<sup>6</sup> Mbh (B), vii. 68. 5. Dantakūra.

<sup>7</sup> PHAI, p. 75, fn 7. See also EI, XXV, 285. For Ptolemy's 'Paloura' and Dantapura and other views connected with the location of the latter see HAIB, pp. 29 ff.

<sup>8</sup> KSSR, II, p. 351 and 412.

<sup>9</sup> EI, XXIV 50.

<sup>10</sup> The name Kalinga had been very often used in the widest sense. The *Mahābhārata* (iii. 114.4) recognises the Vaitaraṇī river as the north-eastern boundary of Kalinga. Pliny's reference to the Gangaridae as a Kalinga people may indicate the extension of ancient Kalinga as far as the Ganges. His Calingae perhaps means Kalinga proper and Mucco-Calingae may have a reference to the Mekala portion of Kalinga. The Purāṇas also refer to the connection of the Kalinga country with the Mt. Amarakantaka. According to the *Kūrma Purāṇa* (ii. 39. 9; see also *Skanda Purāṇa* v. 3. 21. 7) the Amarakantaka hills formed the western boundary of the country. In the *Matsya Purāṇa* (ch. 184, v. 12) it is clearly stated that the Narmada drained Amarakantaka situated in the western half of Kalinga. The boundaries of the country reached even up to the Gangetic delta on the north as in time of the Eastern Gaṅga King Anantavarman Coṭṭagaṅga. But the natural geographical limits of a country are not to be confused with the extension of its territorial frontiers due to conquests abroad. To regard Kalinga country as extending from the Gangetic valley up to the Godavari, or even Kistna on the south, is to ignore all ancient notions of the geography of this portion of India.

time of Aśoka, when Tosali i.e. Dhauli in the Mahānadī valley was a part of Kalinga.<sup>1</sup>

So, within these limits of the Kalinga country as outlined from the provenance of all these records, and the places mentioned therein, we will have to locate all the ancient districts or *Viśayas* of Kalinga country incidentally referred to in the different kinds of Kalinga inscriptions of various dates. A list of the different districts hitherto known is given below :—

Nḍadāśrūga- <i>viśaya</i> ,	Pratiṣṭhāna- <i>viśaya</i> <sup>2</sup> ,	Rūpāvartanī- <i>viśaya</i> <sup>3</sup> ,
Varāha-Vartanī <sup>4</sup> —",	Kroṣṭukavarttanī <sup>5</sup> —',	Kāmarūpa <sup>6</sup> —",
Puṣyagiri-pañcālī <sup>7</sup> —",	Korāśodakā- pañcālī <sup>8</sup> —",	Khalugakhaṇḍa <sup>9</sup> —",
Tellavalli- <i>viśaya</i> <sup>10</sup> ,	Jayaḍā- <i>viśaya</i> <sup>11</sup> ,	Hēmvakamaṭamva- <i>viśaya</i> <sup>12</sup> ,
Puṣkarinī- <i>viśaya</i> <sup>13</sup> ,	Paṭanikhaṇḍa- <i>viśaya</i> <sup>14</sup> ,	Ambavāḍi- <i>viśaya</i> <sup>15</sup> ,
Kantaka-vartanī <sup>16</sup> —",	Gorasatta- <i>viśaya</i> <sup>17</sup> ,	Erada- <i>viśaya</i> <sup>18</sup> .

<sup>1</sup> For the boundaries of Kalinga at different periods, see JAHRS II. 17-23 : 196-203.

<sup>2</sup> EI. XXIII. 261. The donee was a resident of the Pratiṣṭhāna-*viśaya*. The name survives in Piṭhāpuram in the Godavari district.

<sup>3</sup> This is perhaps the same as Rūpyavati-*viśaya* of the Tekkali Plates of Indravarman (EI. XVIII. 309 ff.).

<sup>4</sup> It is mentioned in a number of early and later Ganga records. It perhaps roughly corresponded to 'the coastal portion between Chicacole and Tekkali' (EI. XXIII. 65). The Korm Grant of Anantavarman Codaganga (c. 1076-1147 A.D.) records the grant of the village Khonna in Varāha-vartanī (DHNI, I. p. 462). The village is the same as Korni near Kalingapaṭam.

<sup>5</sup> It is mentioned in some of the early and later Gaṅga inscriptions (EI. XXVI. 66, fn. 4 and 5) and is identified with the country to the north of the river Vamśadharā in the Ganjam district.

<sup>6</sup> It may be just another district of ancient Kalinga (Ibid.).

<sup>7</sup> EI. XXVI. 63; JAHRS. X. 164-65.

<sup>8</sup> EI. XXI. 24; IHQ. XX. 233. It has been shown that it was a part of the Kalinga country. It comprised the region round the modern village Koroshanḍā, a village six miles to the south of Parlakimedi in the Ganjam district.

<sup>9</sup> EI. XXIII. 266, 268.

<sup>10</sup> EI. XXIII. 57-59. It may be connected with the river Tel in the Zamindari of Jaypore (Ibid. 59). Dr. R. C. Mazumdar identifies it with Tella-gamudy, 14 miles to the SW. of Sruṅgavarapukota.

<sup>11</sup> EI. XXIII. 264.

<sup>12</sup> EI. XXIV. 181.

<sup>13</sup> EI. XXIII. 75.

<sup>14</sup> EI. XXVI. 167.

<sup>15</sup> IA. XVIII. 167-8 and 170-74.

<sup>16</sup> Ibid. p. 171, fn. 9.

<sup>17</sup> It consisted of 35 villages and seems to have been near the Vamśadharā (DHNI, I. 457; EI. XI. 149).

<sup>18</sup> It consisted of 12 villages of which one seems to have been at a distance

Vepūrā-*viṣaya*<sup>1</sup>,      Kolu-vartanī-*viṣaya*,<sup>2</sup>      Samvā-*viṣaya*<sup>3</sup>,  
 Sammaga-*viṣaya*,<sup>4</sup>      Galela-*viṣaya*<sup>5</sup>,      Jalamvora-*viṣaya*<sup>6</sup>.

#### 41. VRKAS

In the Bijayagarh (near Byana<sup>7</sup> in Bharatpur State) stone-pillar inscription of Viṣṇuvardhana (year 428=372 A.D.) mention is made of the Varika tribe<sup>8</sup> to which the king belonged. The inscriptional name Varika is the correct form of the name Vrka. This indicates that the Vṛkas settled in the Bharatpur State. Further details about them are lacking. In the *Vaijayanti* of Yādavaprakāśa Vrka is mentioned as a country of Madhya-deśa.<sup>9</sup>

of 15 miles from Badam (DHNI, I, p. 457 and 490) in the Paikonda-taluk (Vizag-district) which as has been shown was known as Vardhamānapura.

<sup>1</sup> The reference to Vādām in this connection (DHNI, I, p. 457 fn. 5) shows that it was in Paikond in the Vizag. district.

<sup>2</sup> This is regarded as the same as Varāṇa-vartanī (Ib.d. 458, fn. 1).

<sup>3</sup> IA, XVIII, 165-172.

<sup>4</sup> DHNI, I, p. 466. Reference is also made to a Vātaka called Tittimuzi (Trillingi) which was within it

<sup>5</sup> IA, XIV, 11, line 14

<sup>6</sup> JAHRS, III, 184. It is identified with Jalmuru near Urala in the Ganjam district. For MŪLAKAS (No. 40) see supra p. 50

<sup>7</sup> The ancient name of Byana seems to have been Śrīpathā (IA, XIV, 9)

<sup>8</sup> CII, III, 253.

<sup>9</sup> VJN, p. 38, v. 40.

## CHAPTER IV

### THE NORTHERN DIVISION

( See chart No. II )

In this division is tabulated by far the greatest number of ethnic and country names—in all more than one hundred, half of which is recorded by the text of the Vā. group. The text of this group is very exhaustive ; all the lists, generally speaking, conform to the same order and form, and are, surprisingly enough, free from the errors of omission and commission. The other peculiarity of the prodigious lists of this text is that a large number of essentially dissimilar names go under nearly the same number in much the same position in the different lists. This will be clear from the list of the *Brahma* and *Vāmana Purāṇas*. The text of the *Bṛhat-saṁhitā* group also record a good number, its three lists are in substantial agreement and form one single text. The account of Parāśara, in its usual way, supplies a long list of names which are not supported either by the Mārka (k). or by the *Bṛhat-saṁhitā* lists, although some of the names are found in the text of the Vā. group. The accounts of the *Garuḍa* and *Kūrma* are incomplete and serve no useful purpose. The list of the *Kāvyaṁmānsā* is a fairly complete one, but it does not belong to any particular group. With the exception of some very few entries which do not find any support, the other names of its text are not new to us. The number of ethnic and country names recorded in the various lists are shown below :

Bṛsam.	Parāśara.	Mārka (k).	Vā.	Mat.	Mārka.	Br.	Vam.	Garuḍa.	Kūr.	Kāvya.
50	54	47	49	30	47	46	54	6	10	20.

The table shows that practically the same number is recorded by each of the two texts; but they exhibit two different sets, although features of agreement between the two texts are more common here than elsewhere, for as many as six names\* are common to both the texts. The list of the *Bṛhat-saṁhitā* begins with Mt. Kailāsa and ends with the Kṣemadhūrtas, and except some variant readings the whole list of the *Bṛhat-saṁhitā* stands corroborated. It would appear that the variantly read names of Mārka (k).’s list [ see chart No. II ] plainly refer to those of the Bṛsam. list which are shown against them. However, the whole list of the *Bṛhat-saṁhitā* with the exception of No. 33, the inclusion of which is not supported by either

of the accounts may be admitted into this division. Those names of the Mārka (k). and Parāśara which are not supported by any of the lists of the *Brhat-saṁhitā* text are to be excluded from this division, excepting those appearing in the text of the Vā. group. The Venukas of Mārka (k). (No. 31) are supported in their inclusion in this division only by the *Vāmana*, but as *Vāmana's* account is open to great doubt the name is not shown here.

The different lists of the Vā. group form altogether a different text. This text begins with the Bālīkas and ends with the Darvas, and follows nearly the same order with very few displacements and gaps. The list of the *Vāyu* was the source of the other accounts of its group; the other lists have tried to follow the Vā. in their own way, with the result that the entire list of the Vā. stands supported and as such admits of inclusion in this division. The *Matsya* list is seriously defective, because there are some unaccountable gaps in the latter portion of its accounts, but its first 23 names are an exact replica of that of the *Vāyu*. The list of the *Mārkaṇḍeya* presents some peculiar features. The whole list is modelled exactly on that of the *Vāyu* in the same order and setting, except that it omits names going under Nos. 15 and 20 of the Vā. list. But the list of the Mārka. can be conveniently noticed in two parts. It is clear that the Mārka. has subscribed to the whole list of the Vā. by following a wrong plan. The division of its list into two parts may be due to textual corruptions, the first 22 names of *Mārkaṇḍeya's* list in this division (see chart No. II & chart in p. 2), which are widely supported in their inclusion here, have been designated by it as being peoples of the North-Western Division (see chart No. III). It has been shown that no Purāṇic text belonging to the Vā. group contemplates such a division, and so this designation of the geographical details of the Northern Division, as North-Western, may rightly be regarded as erroneous; more so because, the first 22 names of the *Mārkaṇḍeya* (ch. 57, 35 ff.) are perfectly in agreement with the first twenty-two names of the Vā. and so, of the other lists of its group going under the Northern Division. The second set of Mārka.'s list (ch. 57, 38 ff.) from the Kāmbojas (No. 23) to the Ūrṇas, which is found in the same setting and order as in other lists of its group, is labelled by it as 'people of outside race'. It is, however, immaterial to consider by what label these names are designated by the Mārka., for these are exactly the names which the Vā. and the other Purāṇas enumerate in the latter part of their lists going under the Northern Division,

and consequently *Mārkaṇḍeya's* 'people of outside race' belong to this division. We thus see that the *Mārkaṇḍeya* has preserved intact the list of the Northern Division though under different forms.

The important feature of *Brahma's* list is that it repeats in full that of the *Mārka.* with the exception of only one name. But its reading is very defective, almost every name being misspelt, thus differing widely from the readings of the *Vā.* and *Mārka.* But the order of narration is correct ; there are some names whose position and reading in the *Br.* list show very striking resemblance with the corresponding names of the list of the *Mārka.* (e.g. names going under Nos. 5, 14, 15, 18 and 35). On the whole, the list of the *Br.* is a good supplement to that of the *Mārka.*, and in some points forms an independent account. The list of the *Vāmana* is the longest. Sometimes it leaves out known details and sometimes it mentions the same name twice, yet the *Vāmana*, of all the *Purāṇas*, supports the *Vā.* list best. The whole list is, therefore, necessarily included with the exception of those entries which remain uncorroborated. The list of the *Kāvya-mīmāṃsā* has been examined in the same way.

The following ethnic names and countries, therefore, belonged to the Northern Division according to the text of the *Brhat-saṃhitā* group :—

- (1) Kailāsa-Giri, (2) Himavat-Giri, (3) Vasumat-Giri,  
 (4) Dhaṇuṣmat-Giri, (5) Kraunca, (6) Meru, (7) Uttara-Kuraba,  
 (8) Kṣudramīnas, (9) Kaikeyas, (10) Vasātis, (11) Yāmunās,<sup>1</sup>  
 (12) Bhogaprashta, (13) Ārjunāyanas, (14) Āgnīdhras, (15) Ādarśa,  
 (16) Antardvīpa,<sup>2</sup> (17) Trigartas, (18) Turagānana, (19) Śvamukhas,  
 (20) Keśadhāras,<sup>3</sup> (21) Cipiṭanāsikas, (22) Dāserakas,<sup>4</sup>  
 (23) Vāṭadhānas, (24) Śaradhānas, (25) Takṣaśilā, (26) Puṣkalā-  
 vatī, (27) Kailāvatas, (28) Kaṇṭhadhānas,<sup>5</sup> (29) Ambaras,

<sup>1</sup> Alberuni says that they were a kind of Greeks (AI, I. 302), but this cannot be accepted.

<sup>2</sup> Alberuni reads Antardvīpa (op. cit.).

<sup>3</sup> Pargiter takes this word as (MP, p. 376) an adjective qualifying the people going under No. 21., but this is incorrect.

<sup>4</sup> Alberuni's Dāsara and Kavāṭadhāna (op. cit.) are plainly mistaken readings.

<sup>5</sup> The Dāsadhānas of the *Parāśara* list and the Adhamas of *Mārka* (k). (No. 25) seem to refer to the fundamentals of the name Kaṇṭhadhāna and they have been shown accordingly in the chart. Dr. Kirsfel, however, takes the word 'Adhama' of the *Mārka* (k). list to be a part of the name Puṣkala and makes it Puṣkalādhama which he puts under No. 23 in the *Mārka* (k). list (DKDI, p. 89).

(30) Madrakas, (31) Mālavas, (32) Pauravas,<sup>1</sup> (33) Daṇḍa-  
piṅgalakas, (34) Māṇahalas, (35) Hūṇas, (36) Kohalas,  
(37) Sātakas, (38) Māṇḍavyas, (39) Bhūtapura, (40) Gāndhāras,  
(41) Yaśovati, (42) Hematalas, (43) Rājanyas, (44) Khacaras,  
(45) Gavyas, (46) Yaudheyas, (47) Dāsameyas, (48) Śyāmākas,  
(49) Kṣemadhūrtas.

The following list may be exhibited in the Northern Division according to the text of the Vā. group :—

(50) Bālhikas, (51) Ābhīras, (52) Kālatoyakas, (53) Aparāntas,<sup>2</sup> (54) Śūdras, (55) Pahlavas, (56) Carmakhaṇḍikas,  
(57) Yavanas, (58) Sindhu, (59) Sauvīra, (60) Śatadruhas,<sup>3</sup>  
(61) Kulindas,<sup>4</sup> (62) Pāradas, (63) Hāra-Hūṇakas,<sup>5</sup> (64) Rāma-

<sup>1</sup> Pauravas are not mentioned by the Mārka (k). (see chart) but Dr. Kirfel puts the Venukas of the Mārka (k) list (No. 31) against the Paurevas. Similarly although Kacchāras of the Bṛhaspati list (No. 33) are not mentioned by the Mārka (k). (see chart), Dr. Kirfel puts Vadantika of Mārka (k). (No. 32) against Kacchāra. There are many other such readings (DKDI, pp. 88-89).

<sup>2</sup> Most of the accounts of the Vā. group read Aparāntas. *Vāyu's* reading Aparītas (No. 5) is obviously a corruption of the name. The next name Śūdras is very clearly mentioned in all the lists—it is not Kaudra as is suggested (IHQ. XXI. 302, fn. 18).

<sup>3</sup> It is evident that *Vāyu's* reading namely Śakas (No. 14) is incorrect for the majority of the lists support the reading taken. The *Matsya Purāṇa* also refers to the fundamentals of the name Śatadruhas, if we connect its name Śakas, going under No. 14, with Druhyas, going under No. 15, making it Śakadruhyas and so Śatadruhas. *Vāyu's* reading of Hūṇas under No. 15 is not supported by any other list of its group and so if it is meant to be Druhyas like the reading of the *Matsya*, it comes to Śakadruhyas (connecting No. 14 with No. 15 of its list), a nearer approach to Śatadruhas. The variants of the name given by Dr. Kirfel are many (DKDI, p. 72). Dr. B. C. Law thinks that the different parts of the name refer to different peoples and so connects the name with the Śakas and also with the Druhyas of Vedic antiquity (TAI, p. 399). Dr. D. C. Sircar reads Satadruja (IHQ. XXI. 302, fn. 23).

<sup>4</sup> The name, Pulindas, could have been considered but as the people are elsewhere mentioned, the alternative reading Kulindas, a well-known people of the north is shown in the list. Kaliṅgas (No. 15) of Mārka, and *Brahma* which is shown against the Kulindas (No. 16) of the Vā., is manifestly a corruption of the Kulindas, the earlier part of the name Kali, seems to contain a feeble link of its connection with Kulinda. The reading Kuṇinda is not supported by adequate evidence (Sircar, op. cit.).

<sup>5</sup> The variants of the name are many, such as Hārapurikas, Hārahūṇakas, Hārabhūṣikas and even Hāramuṣikas. The Hārabhūṣikas perhaps refer to the Hāramuṣikas. The Hārapurikas are mentioned only in one text, whereas

phas,<sup>1</sup> (65) Rūddhakataka,<sup>2</sup> (66) Daśamālikas, (67) Settlement of Kṣatriyas, Vaiśyas and Śūdras or Upaniveśa, (68) Kāmbojas, (69) Daradas, (70) Barbaras, (71) Aṅgalaukikas, (72) Cīnas, (73) Tukhāras, (74) Bāhyatodaras,<sup>3</sup> (75) Ātreyas, (76) Bharadvājas, (77) Prastalas, (78) Lampākas, (79) Stanapas, (80) Piḍikas,<sup>4</sup> (81) Jāguḍas, (82) Apagas,<sup>5</sup> (83) Alimadras, (84) Kairāṭa, (85) Tāmasas or Tomaras,<sup>6</sup> (86) Haṁsa-mārgas, (87) Kāśmīras, (88) Taṅgaṇas, (89) Cūlikas or śūlikas, (90) Kuhakas,<sup>7</sup> (91) Ūrṇas.

Hārahūṇaka is mentioned by the *Brahmāṇḍa* and the *Kāvyamīmāṃsā*. So the variants resolve into two names, Hāramuṣikas or Hārahūṇakas. Both Muṣika and Hūṇaka refer to two tribal names, whose branches may have been indicated by the word Hāra. As Hūṇas are mentioned as a people of the North, the reading Hāra-Hūṇa is taken.

1 The reading taken is best supported by literary references to the name. But a South-Indian inscription refers to a king of the Ikṣvāku race who is called Mādhariputa (IA. XI. 258, line 1), i.e. the son of the queen of the Mādharas (Sansk. Māṭhara) family. It is held that the Māṭharas were a Brāhmaṇical race mentioned in the *Gaṇas* to Pāṇini and elsewhere (Ibid. 238, fn. 2). For the Māṭharas of Kalinga, see NHIP, VI. 79.

2 The *Matsya Purāṇa* reads Kaṇṭakāra, but *Vāyu's* reading need not be disregarded (IHQ. XXI. 303, fn. 24).

3 The name is hopelessly misspelt. The component parts of the name as given by the different texts have the largest measure of agreement in the name taken. For the variants noticed by Dr Kirfel, see DKDI, p. 73, and Dr. Sircar in IHQ. XXI. 303, fn. 32.

4 The name Stanapas and Piḍikas are taken on the authority of the Va., no two readings are alike. See also DKDI, p. 73.

5 D. C. Sircar reads Āvaganas and Culikas (IHQ. XXI. 304, fn 35 and 36) which is extremely doubtful. He thinks that Aupadha and Alasa the other variants of the name refer to Aurasa (op. cit.), but *Vāyu's* reading seems best.

6 Evidence is equally balanced in favour of taking the Tomaras, the name of a celebrated Rājput tribe who were settled in the region round modern Delhi in the 9th century A. D. The Pehovā Prastāvi of the reign of Mahendrapāla refers to Tomara-vaṁśa (EI. I. 245, vs. 5). But the Rājput Tomaras are not meant here, for reference to the Rājput royal clans like the Pratihāras and the Cahamānas are not to be found in any of the texts reviewed. The famous royal races which played a considerable historical part seem particularly to have been excluded in the traditional accounts under review.

7 The reading Kulūtas and Bāhikas (Sircar, op. cit. 305, fn. 42) in place of Cūlikas and Kuhakas appears to be highly improbable as *Vāmana's* version, unless corroborated, is open to doubt.



## 1. KAILĀSAGIRI

It is distinguished from the Himalayan range,<sup>1</sup> and is described as standing at the back of Himavata : *Himavataḥ pṛsthe*<sup>2</sup>. Kailāsa mountain is situated about 25 miles to the north of Mānas-sarovara beyond Gangri and to the east of the Niti Pass.<sup>3</sup> From the *Kathā-S-Sāgara* we learn that it towered many thousand yojanas in the air and contained an inexhaustible mine of jewels.<sup>4</sup>

## 2. HIMAVATGIRI

In the *Matsya Purāṇa*, Himavān and Hemakūṭa are described as full of snow, extending down to the ocean on both sides east and west :

*Avagāhya hyubhayataḥ Samudrau Pūro-pāścimau*

*Himaprāyaśca Himavān Hemakūṭaśca Hemavān.*<sup>5</sup>

The *Kathā-S-Sāgara* refers to some Himalayan cities such as Pushkaravati (Puṣkalavati), Vajrakūṭa, Sundarapura, Madanapura, Vīrapura, Kāñcanābha, and Vaidūryaśṛṅga,<sup>6</sup> which if identified may testify to the magnitude of the Himalayan range. Hemakūṭa was also called Ṛṣabhakūṭa<sup>7</sup> and Hemagiri,<sup>8</sup>; according to Pargiter it represented a portion of the Himalayan hills on the western part of Nepal.<sup>9</sup> This is supported by the evidence of the *Kathā-S-Sāgara*, which places Hemakūṭa somewhere to the south of the lake Mānasa.<sup>10</sup>

Poetic fancy was, however, responsible for many legends concerning the Himalayas. Thus Himalaya is called *Menakāprāṇeś* i.e. the lord of Menakā<sup>11</sup> and their son is called Maināk. The *Rāmāyaṇa*<sup>12</sup> refers to the Maināka-parvata, which is to be reached

<sup>1</sup> *Mūrk. Purāṇa*, 54.24.

<sup>2</sup> *Matsya Purāṇa*, 121.2.

<sup>3</sup> JASB. 1838, p. 314.

<sup>4</sup> KSSR. I, p. 2 & II, p. 469

<sup>5</sup> Mat., 113.11. In the *Skanda Purāṇa* (i.2.37.41 and also verses 54-55. Niṣadha, Hemakūṭa and Himavān are styled as 'Māryyādaparvatāḥ' lying to the south of Meru. Cf. Mbh., vi. 6.3.

<sup>6</sup> KSSR, I, p. 263, 338, 405, 494, 497, 502; II, p. 22.104.

<sup>7</sup> Mbh (B), iii 92.3.

<sup>8</sup> MP, pp. 369-70.

<sup>9</sup> Ibid. 360. Hemakūṭa was also the name of a hill at Vijayanagara (EI. XVIII. 164, vs. 29-35; see also ibid. XIII. 11). This may have been the same as Hemagiri mentioned in the list of the South-Western Division (No 22).

<sup>10</sup> KSSR, I, p. 438. Hemakūṭa is also identified with the hills of Kashmir (IHQ. XIII. 534-40).

<sup>11</sup> Abhidhāna, p. 411.

<sup>12</sup> iv. 43. 29.

after crossing the *Krauñca-parvata*; the latter according to the *Mahābhārata* was the son of the Himalaya.<sup>1</sup> Evidently, these were the contiguous parts of the Himalayan chain. The *Taittirīya Āraṇyaka* mentions Maināga and Krauñca<sup>2</sup>; various other references to the two in Epic literature indicate that Maināk represented the group of hills in the north of the Almora district,<sup>3</sup> and the latter, a group of hills between the lake Mānasa and the Mount Maināk.<sup>4</sup>

Mūjavat or Mūñjavat was another portion of the Himalayas or one of its peaks. In our list of the NE. Division, which is a mistake for the North, the name occurs as Mount Muñja (No. 34). The *Mahābhārata* places the hill at the back of the Himalayan Mountain system: *Girerhimavataḥ prṣṭhe Muñja vānnānī parvataḥ*.<sup>5</sup> In Zimmer's view, Mujavant was one of the lower hills on the south-west of Kashmir.

But Meru, the 'Olympus of the Hindus' is the most celebrated of all mountains. Alberuni tells us that Meru is in Himavat.<sup>6</sup> According to the Epic and Purāṇic tradition it was the same as Sumeru-*parvata*,<sup>7</sup> which according to the *Matsya Purāṇa* was bounded on the north by Uttara Kuru, on the south by Bharatavarṣa, on the west by Ketumālā and on the east by Bhadrāśvavarṣa.<sup>8</sup> It is usually identified with the Himalayan range in Garhwal; Kedārnāth in Garhwal is still traditionally known as such.<sup>9</sup> In popular tradition Meru must have denoted something very high,

<sup>1</sup> Mbh (B); iii, 187.32

<sup>2</sup> i. 31.2

<sup>3</sup> MP, pp. 287-88.

<sup>4</sup> In the *Rāmāyaṇa* (iv. 43. 18ff.) mention is made of *Kailāsa-parvata* where there is a great lake *Viśālā nalinī yatra* (v. 22). This is the lake Mānasa which is situated to the immediate south of Kailāsa mountain. After finishing their search for Sītā there, the emissaries were instructed to go to the Krauñca mountain (v. 25) where there was a hill called Mānasa: *Śailaṅca Mānasaṁ* (v. 28). This shows that Krauñca was to the south of Mānasa-sarovara. In the *Meghadūta*, too, Krauñca is placed south of that lake and it is further stated that there is a pass through it leading to the lake (l. 57-59). This is taken to be the Niti Pass and in that case Krauñca is to be located to the north of Garhwal. Leaving Krauñca, they will reach Maināka: *Krauñcaḥ girimati kramya Mainākonīma parvataḥ* (v. 29). But in the *Padma Purāṇa* (*Svarga*, ch. 2.63) Maināka is placed to the north of Kailāsa: *Astyuttareṇa Kailāsaṁ Mainākaṁ parvataṁ prak.*

<sup>5</sup> xiv. 8. 1.

<sup>6</sup> AI, I. 246. But it is usually treated as a fabulous mountain in the centre of the earth. Cf. *Ilāvartasyamadhyetureruḥ Kaṁka parvataḥ* (Mārkaṇḍeya, 54.14).

<sup>7</sup> Dowson, Classical Dictionary, p. 208; DD, p. 130.

<sup>8</sup> Ch. 113.

<sup>9</sup> DD, p. 197. The *Taittirīya Āraṇyaka* (i. 7.1.3) refers to Mahā-meru as the name of a mountain. A passage of the *Mahābhārata* (xvii.1.2) associates Meru with Bālukārpava to be north of the Himavat which may

possibly the highest of the Himalayan spurs, for Indian kings are very often styled as the Meru of Kings.<sup>1</sup>

The Himalayan chain had other names which are apparently derivatives and qualify Himavat. The word 'Hemādri' or 'the golden mountains' was so called either because they were supposed to contain gold mines, or because of the scene they presented when their snowy peaks reflected the golden effulgence<sup>2</sup> of sunset or sunrise. The latter feature of the Himavat reflecting the golden effulgence of the sunset, and looking like a jewel might refer to the word Manimat which occurs as the name of a mountain in our list. A passage of the *Mahābhārata* gives the name to a spur of the Himalayas: *Punyaṁ Himavataḥ pūdaṁ Manimantañca parvatam*.<sup>3</sup> Maṇiman or Maṇimanta is also mentioned in the book of Kauṭilya.<sup>4</sup> Similarly, the mass of clouds embracing the snow-peaked Himavat obviously refers to the word Meghavat Mountain of the Western Division (No. 2). And because Himavat was supposed to contain rich mines it was called *Vasumat*, for the earth is styled *Vasumatī* 'full of wealth', in the *Śāṅkhāyana Āraṇyaka*,<sup>5</sup> and *Ratnagarbhā* in other works.<sup>6</sup> A passage of the *Mahābhārata*, which refers to the hidden wealth of the Himalayas runs thus :

*Bikhyāto Himavān punyaḥ Śaṅkaraśvaśuro giriḥ*

*Ākaraḥ sarvaratnānām Siddhacārana sevitaḥ*.<sup>7</sup>

Further, as the great Himavat stretches along the north like a drawn bow, it was very appropriately called also as *Dhaṇuṣmat* :

*Himavānuttareṇāśya Kārmukasya yathā guṇaḥ*.<sup>8</sup>

## 7. UTTARAKURABA

As a terrestrial object it was a trans-Himalayan tract lying to the north. In the *Rāmāyana* we get an elaborate description of the people of Uttara Kurava, which is represented as a land of perennial happiness.<sup>9</sup>

have been the name for the desert of Gobi (H. C. Roy Chaudhuri, 'The mountain system of the Purāṇas', JDL. XIX. 15, fn. 1). Meruka of the NE. Division (No. 1) of our text which is a mistake for the 'North' possibly refers to this desert.

1 EI XV. 346, verse 19.

2 Cf. *Tatra Somagiriśnāma Hemamayo mahān* (Rām., iv. 43.54).

3 vii. 78.24.

4 AS, p. 78.

5 xiii. i.

6 Cf. *Abhidhana*, p. 374, v. 3

7 xiii. 25.62. of The

Himalayan city Vajrakūṭa full of diamonds (KSSR, I. p. 405).

8 Mārķ., 57.59; Br., 27.65-6; Skanda, vii. 1.11.13; i.2.37.56. For VASUMAT-giri (No. 3), DHANUSMAT-giri (No. 4), KHAUNCA (No. 5) and MERU (No. 6) see above.

9 Rām; iv. 43.38 ff.

## 8. KṢUDRAMINAS

They may be connected with the Minas, who were among the earliest inhabitants of Rajputana, and a tradition runs that they were 'formerly the rulers of much of the country now called Jaipur'<sup>1</sup>. It is said that Jaipur was really made up of petty Mina states now under the chieftaincy of the Kachwaha Rajputs<sup>2</sup>, who had dispossessed the Minas perhaps in about the beginning of the twelfth century<sup>3</sup>. It is not possible to fix the date of this tradition, but it may be assumed that before the Rajputs were organised into a great political power in Rajputana, the country was divided among a number of small clans of which the Kṣudraminas who lived in Jaipur were perhaps one.

## 9. KAIKEYAS

They obtained their name from an eponymous ancestor Kaikeya, the son of Śivi Auśinara, who founded through his four sons the Kingdoms of the Vṛṣadharbhas, Madras, Kekayas and Suvīras<sup>4</sup>. Early Jaina tradition refers to Kekaya and the city Seaviā<sup>5</sup>. In the *Bārhaspatya Arthasāstra*, a work not anterior to the sixth century A.D., Kekaya is mentioned as one of the eighteen *Viśayas*<sup>6</sup>. In the *Rāmāyaṇa*, Rājagrha is represented as the capital of the Kekayas : *Kekayeṣu parantapau pure rājagrhe*<sup>7</sup>. The city was also known as Girivraja (*Girivrajanpuravarāṇi*), where messengers bound for Kekaya arrived<sup>8</sup>. Cunningham identifies this place with Girjak or Jalalpur on the river Jhelum in the Jhelum district<sup>9</sup>. The Kekaya country on the line of the Jhelum, thus lay to the east of the Gandhāras and west of the Madras, and comprised the modern districts of Jhelum, Gujarat and Shahpur.<sup>10</sup>

<sup>1</sup> IG. XXI. 114.

<sup>2</sup> Glossary, III, p. 102.

<sup>3</sup> IG. XXI. 114. In the *Ain-i-Akbari* we read of an encounter that took place between the descendants of the brother of Jaichand king of Kanauj and the Mina tribe in Marwar. The story is given of how the Minas were dispossessed of their holding in Rajputana (AIA. II, pp. 270-71).

<sup>4</sup> AHT, p. 264.

<sup>5</sup> Supra p. 30, fn. 2.

<sup>6</sup> The eighteen *Viśayas* are the following :—Nepāl, Lāṭa, Kāśī, Pāñcāla, Kekaya, Sṛñjaya, Matsya, Magadha, Mālava, Sakunta, Kosala, Avantī, Saihya, Vaidarbha, Videha, Kaurava, Kāmboja, Daśārṇa (ed. by F. W. Thomas Punjab Sanskrit Series, No. 1, 1921, pp. 20-21, *Sūtras* 87-98). The Kekaya country according to Pāṇini was a *janapada* (vii. 3.2).

<sup>7</sup> II. 67. 7.

<sup>8</sup> II. 68. 19-22.

<sup>9</sup> AR. II. 14.

<sup>10</sup> The indications given in the *Rāmāyaṇa* regarding the location of the people are somewhat vague and the accounts are rather involved and confused.

The geographical position of the Jhelum district on the great north-western highway, by which so many foreign invasions took place in the past, beginning from the time of Alexander, had necessarily turned its people into hereditary warriors. The Kekayas were the principal combatants in the Kurukṣetra war, and the great Epic records that they were noted bowmen<sup>1</sup>. The Kekayas or a branch of them, also settled in Southern India, particularly in Mysore<sup>2</sup>, and possibly also in the north-east of Bengal<sup>3</sup>.

#### 10. VASĀTIS

Such combinations as *Śivayotha Vaśātayah* very frequently occur in the *Mahābhārata*<sup>4</sup>. They were the Ossadioi of the Greeks, another independent tribe, who sent envoys to Alexander offering the submission of their nation<sup>5</sup>. At the confluence of the Akesines and the Indus Alexander received the envoys of the Ossadioi<sup>6</sup>; the indication is positive enough that the Vasātis occupied the territory on the line of the lower Akesines (Chinab); perhaps in the upland which runs like a wedge between the river Indus and the Chinab. The *Matsya Purāṇa* says that the river Indus flowed through the *Vasāti janapada*<sup>7</sup>. In the *Harivaṃśa* we read that the Vasātis were a vigorous and powerful people<sup>8</sup>.

Thus it is said that the messengers (ii. 69-135) crossed the Ganges at Hastināpura and after passing through the Pañcāla country proceeded westward through Kuru-Jāṅgala. This brings us to the tract which lies to the west of the Jumna. Proceeding westward they crossed the river Ikṣumati, trekked on through Bāhika (vs. 17-18), and then passed by the Vipāśa etc. (v. 19), and finally reached Girivraja. So Ikṣumati river and the Bāhika country have to be located in the region between the river Beas and the Jumna. There is nothing in the text which suggests that the Kekaya country was near the Gandhara *viyaga*. On the other hand, the mention of Girivraja immediately after Vipāśa, without any further account of place names of the country between the rivers Jhelum and Beas suggests that the Kekaya country perhaps lay near the Beas.

1 ii. 4. 31.

2 IC. IV. 576. Dr. D. C. Sarkar writes that the Southern Kekayas belonged to the Ātreya *gotra* and the Soma-*vanśa* and matrimonial relation with the house of Ikṣvāku took place.

3 IC. July, 1941, p. 59.

4 Mbh (B), v. 185. 7; vii. 78. 38, also vi. 18. 12; vi. 51. 14; vi. 106. 8.

5 MI, p. 156, and fn. 2.

6 Ibid. 155.

7 Mat., 121. 46-47. Cunningham prefers to identify Ossadioi with the Yaudheyas, the modern Jhilyas who settled along the banks of the lower Sutlej (MI, p. 156, fn. 2). The name may also respond to the Besatae a tribe mentioned in the Periplus (Periplus, p. 278-9) whose country has been identified with Gan tok near Tibet. Cf. Mbh., vii. 21. 28 : *Pārvataḡā Vaśātayah* 8 ii. 84.50.

As septs of the family of Anu, and descendants of king Uśinara, the Śivas were connected with the Yaudheyas, Ambaṣṭhas, Vṛṣadarbhas, Madras, Kekayas and Suvīras<sup>1</sup>, and taken together they occupied a portion of the Punjab. The Vedic tradition about Śibi Auśinara connects the Śibis with the Uśinara Country, which was generally speaking the country to the north of Hardwar near the source of the Ganges<sup>2</sup>, and in literature also, the Uśinaras are often associated with the Śibis. But the *Jātaka* accounts of the king Śivi of the Śivi country who had his capital at Ariṭṭhapura<sup>3</sup>, point to the Swat valley as the ancient Śivi Kingdom<sup>4</sup>, which seems to have been known also to Fahien and Hiuen Tsang. They connected Udyāna (=Swat)<sup>5</sup> with the epic story of King Uśinara of Śivi-rāṣṭra who made a wonderful sacrifice to save the life of a dove.<sup>6</sup>

The Sibi or Sobii of Greek accounts are taken to be the same as Śibi or Śivi of Indian literature. Both Curtius and Diodoros state that the united stream of Hydaspes (Vitastā-Jhelum) and the

1 AIHT, p. 264.      2 In the *Kathū-S-Sāgara* (I, p. 11), Mt. Uśinara is placed near Kanakhala, near the source of the Ganges. See also ABORI, XXIX, p. 127, fn. 9.

3 No. 527, CJ, V, p. 107; No. 546, CJ, VI, p. 215; No. 499, CJ, IV, p. 250.

4 DD, pp. 187-88. The *Matanga Purāṇa* says that the river Indus flowed through the *Janapada* of Śivapura (121. 46-7). Dr. B. C. Law connects Ariṭṭhapura with Ptolemy's Aristobothra in the north of the Punjab (TAI, p. 83).

5 Swat or the valley of Suvāstu, with its capital at Śauvāstava (Pāṇ., iv. 2.77), was a part of the ancient *Mohūjanapada* of Gandhāra, but it also represented the ancient Uddhyana country, the Aurdāyana of Katyāyana (*Bhāṣya*, II, 292) which in its restricted application stood for the country encompassed by the rivers Suvāstu and Gauri. Uddhyana thus lay on the right of the Indus, which separated it from the ancient *janapada* of Uraśa (Hazara) which lay on its left. The frequent references to the place-names of the valley of the Suvāstu in the works of Pāṇini indicate the importance of this region. Few miles north of Attock, where the Indus receives its tributary the Kabul, lies Ohind, the ancient Udbhāṇḍa, where the trade routes to the trans-Indus districts (of *Pāre-Sindhu* of Mbh; Sabbā, 51. 11) in the Uttarāpatha crossed the Sindhu. Udbhāṇḍa lay in the centre of the Gandhāra country being almost equidistant from Takṣaśila and Puṣkalāvati (mod. Carsadda), its eastern and western capitals respectively, the latter being known to the Greeks as Peuselaotes (Puṣkalas of the *Mārkaṇḍeya*) standing near the junction of the Swat with the Kabul. Varāṇa of Pāṇini (iv. 2.82) which is referred to by the Greeks as Aornos, the name of a fort in the country of Assakenoi, corresponding to modern Ūṇa (Ūṇrā in Pushtu) a few miles to the west of the Indus, was another celebrated country of this region and appears as Ūṇas in our text (No. 91).

6 Mbh; iii, 130, 131.

Akesines (Chenab) flows down to the territories of Sibi<sup>1</sup>, which shows that in the fourth century B.C. the people settled in the country lying below the junction of the Jhelum and the Chenab on both sides of the latter and not necessarily on the western side<sup>2</sup>. Inscriptional evidence indicates that they had their capital at Sibi-pura, modern Shorkot in the Jhang district of the Punjab.<sup>3</sup> When they met Alexander, their military position was quite strong, as they possessed 40,000 foot soldiers, and their war accoutrements, namely, hide of wild beasts for armour and clubs for weapons showed their preparedness for war.

The Śivis had many other settlements. Later on, sometime before the second century B. C., they migrated to Rajputana and established a *Janapada* in the country around Madhymikā.<sup>4</sup> A branch of the people probably settled in Sind,<sup>5</sup> and also on the banks of the Kāveri,<sup>6</sup> and in the mountains of Seweya in Gorakhpur.<sup>7</sup>

### 13. ĀRJUNĀYANAS

The name Ārjuneya is mentioned in the *R̥gveda* as the patronymic of Kautsa.<sup>8</sup> They are connected with the Pāṇḍava prince Arjuna. As an independent tribe following the profession of arms, they are mentioned, along with their associates, the Yaudheyas, by the celebrated grammarian Pāṇini. Numismatic evidence proves that both these powers, who were quite viable separately, established a form of political organisation in about the middle of the first century B. C.,<sup>9</sup> and began to grow powerful, as seems very likely, with the disappearance of the Indo-Greek power. Though they submitted to the rule of the Śakas and the Kūshāṇas, they recovered their position after the decline of the latter, but for a short period only, as later on, they succumbed to the rule of the Guptas, and consequently appeared in the same context in the Allahabad inscription of Samudragupta. The value of the notices made of the two tribes in the texts under review, lies in this that they show the continuity of the stability and independence of some of the famous tribes of India.

<sup>1</sup> MI, pp. 232, 285.

<sup>2</sup> MI, p. 366; MA, p. 14, fn.

<sup>3</sup> EI. XVI. 15-17; See also EHI, p. 97, fn. 2. <sup>4</sup> See *Supra* pp. 46-47.

<sup>5</sup> Age of Imperial Unity, p. 160, fn. 4. <sup>6</sup> PHAI, p. 205, fn. 5.

<sup>7</sup> EI. XVIII. 137, vs. 17. For YĀMUNAS (No. 11), see *supra* p. 43. BHO-GAPRASTHA (No. 12), is the same as Baghat, a few miles to the north of Delhi.

<sup>8</sup> i. 112.23; iv. 26.1.

<sup>9</sup> CH. 1.528. Other coins are assigned to the second-third centuries A.D. on the ground of their similarity with the Yaudheya-Mālava coins of this period (P. Gupta, in IHQ. XXVII. 208).

The character of this ethnic grouping is referred to in several of the coins, as the word *gaṇa* actually occurs in combination with the *Ārjunāyanas* who seem to have lived in the triangle of land formed by Delhi-Agra-Jaipur<sup>1</sup>. The more famous of the *gaṇa* communities were the Madras, Mālavas and the Yaudheyas, the *gaṇa* character of their tribal organisation being stated in their coin-legends and also in the literary and epigraphic references to the names. These communities, as noticed under the entry '*āyudhajīvē saṃgha*' of Pāṇini, were military republics and subsisted by profession of arms,<sup>2</sup> to which the tribal organisation of the Trigartas was also affiliated.<sup>3</sup> But the Trigartas were a *janapada* community as is indicated by the legend of a coin (*Trakata janapadasa*) which is assigned to the first half of the second century B. C.<sup>4</sup> This shows that the profession of arms was not necessarily confined to the *gaṇa* communities.

The question is what was the difference between a *gaṇa* and a *janapada*. Dr. D. R. Bhandarkar was of opinion that *gaṇa* was a kind of political organisation tribal in character, and was mostly confined to the Kṣatriya order. He cites the case of the Yaudheyas who were an *eka-rāja* Kṣatriya tribe, that is to say, the military order was monarchical in character.<sup>5</sup> Indeed, Yaudheya coins bear the legend '*Mahārājasa*', in Brāhmī characters of the of the first century B.C.,<sup>6</sup> and the Bijayagaḍh stone-inscription, in characters of the second-third century A. D. refers to one *Mahārāja Mahāsenāpati* the ruler of the Yaudheya-*gaṇa*. At a later date, the Yaudheyas were formed into a *Rāja-sabhapajīvē Saṃgha*, i. e. an aristocratic organisation all the members of which had the title *rājan*.<sup>7</sup> So the *gaṇas* like the Yaudheyas and the Mālavas represented the government of the chief families of the tribe, but a *janapada*, as seems very plausible to infer, was a democratic organisation, in which the people controlled the administration<sup>8</sup>. The legends of the coins issued by the

<sup>1</sup> CCAI, p. LXXIX, LXXXIII.

<sup>2</sup> IV. 168 ; V. 3.117.

<sup>3</sup> V. 3.117 ; IV. 1.178.

<sup>4</sup> COAI, p. CXL.

<sup>5</sup> CL, p. 144, fn. 2., p. 166.

<sup>6</sup> CCAI, p. CXLVII.

<sup>7</sup> CL, pp. 164-167. Kauṭilya, it may be noted divides the Saṃghas into two classes, *Vārt-opajīvē Saṃghas* i.e. those dependent upon agriculture and trade (AS, p. 407) such as the Kambojas, and the above mentioned corporation of the people known as *Rājan* like the Madrakas, Mallakas, Kurus, and Pāṇḍalas. See also Jayaswal's Hindu Polity (p. 20) who thinks that a *gaṇa* was the same as a modern democracy.

<sup>8</sup> CL, pp. 141, 173.



*janapada* communities like the Śibis, Trigartas, Vemakas<sup>1</sup>, Āgreyas<sup>2</sup>, and the Rājanyas<sup>3</sup> seem to give emphasis on the word *janapadasa*, which may be interpreted to mean that *janapada* was a viable unit of, and belonging to the people as a whole. The popular character of a *janapada* community appears to have been indicated in a passage of the *Aitareya Brāhmaṇa*<sup>4</sup> and in a statement in the *kathā-S-Sāgara*<sup>5</sup>. But the distinction between the *gaṇas* and *janapadas* is not always clear. Thus Pāṇini for instance divides the *janapadas* into two classes, the monarchical or *Ekarāja* states (iv. 1.168-176), and secondly, the military orders or the *Āyudhajīvi Saṅghas*. This description, strictly speaking, would refer to the *gaṇas* only, and

1 See P. Gupta, in IHQ XXVII, 199

2 Ibid. 198-199: *Aṇodaka Agūcha janapadasa*. The Āgreyas who are described as the people of Agrodaka lived in Hissar district in the 2nd Century B. C. The coins of the Vemakas are found in Hoshiarpur.

3 Their coins were struck with the bare legend, *Rājāṇa janapadasa* (COA1, p. cxxiii). Rapson (CH. I. 528) and Allan were of opinion that it was a synonym of Kṣatriya or in some way connected with the Rājput title Rājā. Jayaswal correctly stated that the reference is here to the name of a people, i. e. the Rājanya tribe. Dr. Bhandarkar points out that even Pāṇini mentions them in his aphorism: *rājanyādibhya vuṇ* (IV. 2. 13) which shows that they were known as a specific people (CL, p. 173, fn 2). This view is strengthened by the fact that in our list also, the Rājanyas appear as a specific people (No. 43) like other tribes of the Punjab. They may be contrasted with the *Gaṇān* and *Grāmanīyū janapadas* referred to in the *Sabhā Parva* of the *Mahābhārata* (ii. 35. 1-18). As the coins of the Rājanyas have been found in Hoshiarpur district they seem to have lived there. According to another view they lived in Rajputna (Age of Imperial Unity, p. 160, fn 6). In the second *Prasasti* of Baijnāth (EI I.116, line 10) the title 'Rājāṇaka' stands for the chiefs of Kengra (See also CL, p. 173). But the coins of the people assigned to the 2nd and 1st centuries B.C., however, show that this *janapada* community changed the character of their settlement into a *gaṇa* and formed a new grouping of power with the Vṛṣṇis (*Vṛṣṇī rājajñyagaṇa-sya tratarasya*) who are usually connected with Mathura and Uvārakā (cf. also Andhaka-Vṛṣṇi league referred to by Pāṇini), possibly on the lines of a confederation to meet the threat of a political pressure. P. Gupta thinks that the Rājanyas also formed an alliance with the Kuṇindas for the word *Rājāṇah* of their coins is a mistake for *Kājāṇah* (IHQ. XXVII. 199-204). It seems that the Rājanya-gaṇa was a confederation of many states, as the scholiasts on Pāṇini, iv. 2.52 refer to Vasāti, Devayāta, Bailvavana, Ambarīṣaputra etc. as the different constituent elements of this federal organisation (Agrawala in IHQ. XXIX. 3).

4 Ibid. IHQ. XXVII. 199.

5 KSSR, II, p. 498 (last line): In the realm of the king of the Śibis, real power was in the hands of his subjects,

similarly his classification of the *gaṇas* into different classes such as Kacchādi (iv. 2. 133) and Sindhvādi (iv. 3. 93) etc., under which is included many *janapadas* does not imply the probability of any distinction between the two. Further, Pāṇini's Sālva, Sālveya and Sālvāyaya are considered to have been three distinct *janapada* units which were monarchies<sup>1</sup>, and the last one was a confederation of six monarchical states.<sup>2</sup> Trigarta-*janapada* was also a confederation of six states (Trigarta-*ṣaṣṭha*)<sup>3</sup>. It appears that *janapadas* or *Gaṇas* whether monarchical or not, formed federal alliances with other groups of their community, setting up a sort of state-system (*Mitrapada*<sup>4</sup> ?) and to that extent refashioned their constitution.

#### 14. ĀGNIḌHRAS

An *Āgnīdhra* may be defined as a priest who kindles the sacrificial fire<sup>5</sup>. The *Agnikula* Rajputs are said to have been brought into existence by a special act of creation on the part of Viśvāmitra who produced four clans, the Paramāras, Solāṅkis, Pratihāras and the Chauhāns from a fire fountain that was ignited by him on the Mt. Abu<sup>6</sup>. As Viśvāmitra was the *Āgnīdhra*, the famous Rajput clans created by him were supposed to have been called the *Āgnīdhra*s, whose cradle, as the story goes, was Mt. Abu in the heart of Rajputana<sup>7</sup>, the country of the *gaṇa* communities in particular, like the Ārjunāyanas, Yaudheyas and Mālavas<sup>8</sup>, who were regarded as 'examples of early Rajput states'<sup>9</sup>. Their proximity with the Ārjunāyanas is suggested by the collocation of the names in the list, and with the Mālavas and other such *gaṇa*, tribes of that area,

1 See Agrawala, in IHQ. XXIX. 19      2 They are :—Udumbara, Tilakhala (Hoshiarpur), Madrakāra (warrior-troops of the Madras), Yugandhara (Ambala), Bhuliṅga (Aravalli), and Śaradaṇḍa (Sardaras ?), Ibid. 19-22.

3 Pāṇ; v 3.116.

4 See P. Gupta for *janapada* and *Mitrapada* in IHQ. XXVII. 200.

5 Benfey. A Sanskrit-English Dictionary, p. 71.

6 IG. XXI. 113. In the *Mahābhārata*, it is stated that the ṛṣi Vasiṣṭha whose hermitage was on the Mt. Abu, created out of his fire-pit a hero named Paramāra to oppose Viśvāmitra (*Vana*, Ch. 82).

7 A Jaina work perhaps of the 12th century A. D. refers to the association of the Paramāras and the Solāṅkis with the Mt. Abu (IA. IV. 267) and further says that the former were created by Viśvāmitra. It may be noted that mention is made of the hill in question immediately after the *Āgnīdhra*s in this list (No. 15).

8 The *Bhāgavata Purāṇa* (xii. 1.36) associates Mālava with Arbuda.

9 CH. 1.528.

by a statement of Karna's conquest which runs thus : *Āgneyān Mālavānapi gaṇān sarvān binirjitya*.<sup>1</sup>

Here we have literary reference to a tribe bearing allusions of their origin from *Agni* and resembling in tribal characteristics the Mālavas who are commonly grouped with the Yaudheyas and the Ārjunāyanas.

### 15. ĀDARŚA

This is the famous Aravalli Hills ( the word *Arāvalā* or *Arāvalī*, literally means the hills which form a barrier), referred to in 'Ādarśa' of Patañjali which according to him formed the western boundary of Āryāvarta : *Prāgādarsāt Pratyakkālaka*, etc.<sup>2</sup> Regarded from a truly conventional sense the hills, which formed the western most limits of India may have been known also as *Astācala* or the Mountain of the setting sun.<sup>3</sup> *Astācala* is mentioned in our list of the Western Division (No. 5).

When Rājasekhara says : *Devasabhāyāḥ parataḥ paścāddeśaḥ*, he must have the *Ādarśāvalī* in view<sup>4</sup>. It is suggested that the original name of *Devasabhā* was *Devaśāpa* or 'Punishment of the Gods'<sup>5</sup> from which was derived Ptolemy's *Apokopa*<sup>6</sup> i. e. the Aravalli Hills. But the description given of *Arbuda* as '*Devasevitā Kulācala*', plainly gives the clue to the name *Devasabhā*<sup>7</sup> of Rājasekhara.

The main range of the Aravalli Hills terminates in the south-east corner of the Sirohi State, while 7 miles to the north-west, separated by a narrow valley, stands the celebrated Mountain Abu, 'the hill of wisdom' or *Ar-budha* of ancient literature. A good account of the religious merit of the mountain is furnished by the *Arbuda-Khaṇḍa* of the *Skanda Purāṇa*. The Mt. Abu Inscription of Samarsimha records the putting 'in of repairs in a Maṭha' on the Mount, which is described as : "*Arbudovijayate girir=u ch chaṛ deva-sevitā-kulā cala-ratnam*".<sup>8</sup> In one inscription again, it is referred to as '*Himādrībhava*',<sup>9</sup> and in another it is used in a territorial sense standing for the region round about the celebrated hill : *Bhū-maṁ-dalam Arbudasya*.<sup>10</sup> As an administrative division, the territory round *Arbuda* may have been known as *Arbuda-maṇḍala*.<sup>11</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Mbh ; iii. 253. 19-20.  
(Kielhorn's edn., III, p. 174).

<sup>2</sup> *Mahābhāṣya* on Pāṇini, vi. 3, 109 ; ii. 4. 10  
<sup>3</sup> Cf *Rām.*, iv. 42. 51-52.

<sup>4</sup> ABORI. XXIX. 1949, 143-144.

<sup>5</sup> MT, p. 355. <sup>6</sup> Ibid. 76.

<sup>7</sup> The name *Devasabhā* also occurs in the *Kathā-S-Sāgara* (II, p. 539) but as a city of the eastern region.

<sup>8</sup> IA. XVI. 350, line 38.

<sup>9</sup> EI. XI. 67;

XIV. 303. va. 3 ; IX. 79ff.

<sup>10</sup> EI. IX. 11.

<sup>11</sup> JBRAS. XXIII, 78 ff.

A historical work by a great Jaina scholar which may be assigned to the 12th century A. D.<sup>1</sup> describes the sanctity of the hill and inter alia records : 'On this Abu it is always cool, so the people dress themselves in lion's skins. Here there are mines of various kinds, so that people are wealthy : famines do not occur, disease is hardly known. On this Abu, many Bhills live who are skilful as guides, also cultivators, salats, painters, gamblers too, many of them : there are mines of stones, etc.'<sup>2</sup>

#### 16. ANTARDVĪPA

This perhaps refers to a land between the confluence of any two rivers of the Punjab. Rechna Doab was the plain country between the Rāvi and the Chenab rivers. As Trigarta is the next name, this Doab might have been meant under this entry.

#### 17. TRIGARTAS

As noticed before<sup>3</sup> they were a *gaṇa* community in the time of Pāṇini but later on changed into a *janapada*.

Trigarta-*janapada*, as indicated in an inscription<sup>4</sup>, corresponded to the modern Bist Jullundur<sup>5</sup> Doab, or the country between the Beas and Sutlej ; but in general it denoted the region watered by the three rivers, Ravi, Beas and Sutlej. Hemacandra treats the two names as synonymous : *Jālandharastrigarttāḥ syuḥ*<sup>6</sup>. According to Hiuen Tsang,<sup>7</sup> *She-lan-talo* or Jullundur was 1000 li (137 miles)<sup>8</sup> from east to west and 800 li (133 miles) from north to south. To the pilgrim, it was the name of the city and the district, exactly as it is now of the Punjab. But the modern Jullundur district has an area of 1,431 square miles, whereas according to the pilgrim's estimate it was far bigger than that. In Hiuen Tsang's time, as in Pāṇini's time, the kingdom of Jullundur (Trigarta) also included the modern districts of Hosiarpur and the hill district of Kangra i. e. the Kulūta country.

According to the *Rājatarāṅginī*, the ancient kingdom of Trigarta or Jālandhara<sup>9</sup> embraced the Kangra district.<sup>10</sup> Epigraphic evidence, too, proves the inclusion of the district within Trigarta. The Baijnāth *Prasastis* refer to Kīragrāma<sup>11</sup> which is the same as

1 1A. IV. 71. 2 Ibid. 267-268. 3 Supra. pp 94-95. 4 EI. I. 116.

5 The name is given as Jalandhara in an inscription of the 15th century (EI. XXI. 278).

6 Abhidhāna, p. 382, This is also endorsed by Yādevaparakāśa (VJN, p. 37, v. 26). 7 YC, I, p. 296. 8 OAGI, p. 157.

9 IV. 177, RT, I, p. 138. 10 III. 100, RT, I, p. 81. 11 EI. I. 111, p. 33.

Baijnāth, a village in the Kangra district, about 30 miles east of Kot-Kangra on the east or left bank of a tributary of the Beas. The inscription gives the pedigree of the Rajanakas and princes of Kīragrama, who were kinsmen or feudatories of the kings of Trigarta. The second *Prasasti* actually refers to Kīragrama as being within Trigarta.<sup>1</sup>

Hiuen Tsang noticed that the country was favourable to cultivation; and fruits, flowers and cereals grew in abundance.<sup>2</sup> Even now the Jullundur region is 'one vast sheet of luxuriant and diverse vegetation'<sup>3</sup> and is regarded as the garden of the Punjab. But the traveller was not pleased with the Trigartas whose appearance appeared to him as common and rustic.<sup>4</sup> In the *Rājatarāṅgīṇī* we have a line which runs thus: 'Even the Gods have no pity in Trigarta.'<sup>5</sup>

## 22. DĀSERAKAS

The word '*gaṇa*' is nearly always added to their name, and Pargiter says that "they appear to have comprised several bands."<sup>6</sup> Hemacandra identifies Daśeraka with Marava: *Maravaṣṭu Daśerakāḥ*.<sup>7</sup> Marava is the same as Mārava which was the name of Marwar.<sup>8</sup> Evidently, the name is another addition to the ethnic stock of ancient Rajputana.<sup>9</sup>

1 The territory round Baijnāth or Kīragrama might have been known in ancient times as the Kīra country mentioned in the Rewah stone inscription of Karna (EI. XXIV. 104), in the Bheraghat inscription of Alhanadevi (EI. II. 11 and 15, vs. 12), and in the Khālimpur plate of Dharmapāla (v. 12). The Kīras were an old people and were ruled by the Śāhi kings. A Śāhi king of Kīra is mentioned in the Khajuraho stone inscription of Dhanga Candella (EI. I. 123 ff; p. 134, vs. 43). A Kīra king is also mentioned in the Karambel stone inscription of Jayasinha (IA. XVIII. 215 and 217, lines 11-12). Dr. R. C. Majumdar says that the Kīra kingdom should be placed in the neighbourhood of Jalandhara, and refers to Kīragrama or Baijnāth (IHQ. IX. 10) as the royal seat. The Kīras appear as a people of the NE. Division (No. 4) which as we have pointed out, was a mistake for the 'North'. 2 BR, I, p. 176.

3 IG XIV. 222.

4 BR, I, p. 176.

5 VIII, 1531, RT, II, p. 120 For the following names, TURAGĀNANA (No. 18), ŚVAMUKHAS (No. 19), KEŚADHARAS (No. 20), CĪPITANĀSIKAS (No. 21), see *infra*, discussion on the Kulindas (No. 61).

6 MP, p. 321.

7 Abhidhāna, p. 382, see also TKS, p. 31 (*Daśerakā Marubhubo*).

8 See *Supra* p. 40.

9 For VĀTADHĀNAS (No. 23), see *supra* p. 54, ŚARADHĀNAS (No. 24) see *supra* p. 55, TAKṢAŚILĀ (No. 25) and PUṢKALĀVATĪ (No. 26) see *supra* p. 91, fn. 5, and the author's article in the Journal of the Ganganath Jha Research Institute, vol. vi, Pt. 3, pp. 283-288.

## 27. KAILĀVATAS

The name is considerably distorted, by a slight transposition of some letters it may be changed into Kaivātalas, which may represent an original like Kubhātalas. Kubhā occurs in the *R̥gveda* as the name of the Kabul River, known to classical writers as Kophen or Kophis<sup>1</sup> which were presumably derived from Pāṇini's Kāpiśī,<sup>2</sup> the capital of the kingdom of Kāpiśa. Kāpiśa is generally identified with modern Kafiristan south-east of the Hindu Kush<sup>3</sup> extending as far as the river Kunar including Ghorband and Panjshir valleys, roughly corresponding to Hiuen Tsang's Kapisene the capital of which according to Cunningham<sup>4</sup> was either at or near Opian or Hupian<sup>5</sup>, a little to the north of Charikar, and 50 miles to the north of Kabul<sup>6</sup>. The ancient route from Kāpiśa to Bālhika crossed the Bamian pass, which was the Varmatī of Pāṇini<sup>7</sup>, near Charikar. So the people of the western section of the Kabul valley are referred to under this entry.

## 28. KAN̐THADHĀNAS

The name is considerably distorted, but the context indicates that it is another place-name of Afghanistan. If the original was a

<sup>1</sup> MM, pp. 198-199.

<sup>2</sup> IV. 2. 99. cf. *Kāpiśāyana*, the name of the wine of that place.

<sup>3</sup> The Hindu Kush separated Kāpiśa from Bālhika. Its foreign names such as the Paropamisadai (GK.) and Parruparaesana (Behistun Ins.) are derived from Skt. Uparīśyena, meaning, out of reach of the Eagles. Dr. Agrawala draws our attention to Lobitāgiri (*Kāśikā* on IV. 3.91) as the old name of Hindu Kush, whence the name highlanders of Rohitāgiri and the name of Roha of Afghanistan (IHQ, XXIX. 6). It may be noted that the Greek name of Kabul was Ortospanum, derived from Skt. Urdhasthāna or high land (CAGI, pp. 38ff) and Ptolemy says that Kabura or Ortospana was the capital of Parapamisadai (Ibid. pp. 21, 37; MI, p. 58, fn. 4). The classical notices to the tribes designated Parapamisadae (MI, 58, fn. 4) indicate that Parapamisadae was nearly equivalent to the Kabul valley (CAGI, pp. 36ff): and was inhabited by many martial tribes.

<sup>4</sup> CAGI, pp. 23-24.

<sup>5</sup> Hiuen Tsang says that the capital of *Fu-li shih-sa-t'ang-na* was *U-pi-na* which was 20 li round. The name Opian, may be a contraction of the Sanskrit name Upaniveśa. In our list of this division, we have reference to the settlement of the Kṣatriyas, Vaiśyas and Śūdras (No. 67).

<sup>6</sup> Charikar to the north of Kabul was a place of great importance, whence three roads that led into Bactria diverged (CAGI, pp 28-29; Holdich, Gates of India, p 357) Vast ruins have been discovered at Opian which thus lies in the neighbourhood of a commanding position near Charikar. It is regarded as the site of Alexanderian city (MI, p. 331; MA, p. 87, fn. 4) founded in 329 B. C. at the foot of Paropamisos. See also EI, XXII. 11. <sup>7</sup> IV. 3.94.

Sanskrit word like Kaṇṭhadr̥hāra, which we get by a slight change of one letter, then it obviously refers to Kandahar, but this cannot be regarded as conclusive. Kandahar was a town of great importance from early times, being the central point at which the routes from Herat, Seistan, Ghor, Kabul, and India united. The importance of this place did not escape the notice of the Greek invaders. Arachotos, the capital of Arachosia is believed to have been situated somewhere in the direction of Kandahar.<sup>1</sup> The place must have been known to Indian writers; and there cannot be any doubt that the name Kandahar was derived from a Sanskrit original, and perhaps flowed independently of Gandhāra with which it is usually connected.<sup>2</sup>

A very correct approach to country and river nomenclatures of Afghanistan lies in Sanskrit words. Two distinct streams of ancient tradition as represented by the *Bṛhat-saṃhitā* and the *Vāyu*, show acquaintance with the peoples of Afghanistan to an extent not known in Vedic and later texts. Afghanistan is generally divided into three great river basins, namely, those of the Oxus, the Helmand, and the Kabul.

The basin of the Kabul river is divided from that of the Helmand by the Paghman range, and from that of the Oxus by the Hindu Kush and its western prolongation. In the time of Alexander, the Kabul valley or Paropamisadae, as already noticed, was inhabited by independent, warlike mountaineers. Some of these tribes are mentioned in our text, and so if we examine the ancient ethno-geographical tradition of this region we may find the links in the chain of evidence that connected the highlands of the Kabul valley with Āryāvarta in ancient times.

Thus the Lampākas who appear as a people of this division (No. 78) are the Lambatai of Ptolemy<sup>3</sup> and the Lampakas of the *Mahābhārata*.<sup>4</sup> They occupied the country bounded by the Kabul river on the south and south-east between its two tributaries, the Alingar on the west and the Kunar on the east. The Chinese traveller Hiuen Tsang visited the country of *Lan-po* (Lamghan) the size of which was estimated at 1000 li. In his time it was a tributary to Kapiśa.<sup>5</sup> The Lampākas

<sup>1</sup> MM, p. 156. fn.

<sup>2</sup> Dr Bellow says that the natives of Gandhara in quitting their homes on the Indus established themselves on the Helmand and founded a city which survives in Kandahar (The races of Afghanistan by Surgeon-Major H. W. Bellow, Thacker Spink and Co., Calcutta, MDCCCLXXX, pp. 21, 23, 61).

<sup>3</sup> MT, pp. 105-6; CAGI, p. 50.

<sup>4</sup> Mbh (B), vii. 105.42.

<sup>5</sup> BR, I, p. 90.

are identified with a people called Murāṇḍas in the *Abhidhānacintā māṇi* and in the *Vaijayanti*.<sup>1</sup> It is suggested that Lampāka or Laghman was the capital of Sai-Wang (Śaka-Murāṇḍa).<sup>2</sup> The people lived in the same region in the time of Abul Fazl, as in the *Ain-i-Akbari* they are referred to in connection with the Alisang-Alinagar Valley.<sup>3</sup>

To the east of the Lampākas, and to the north of the Kabul river near its confluence with the Indus, perhaps lived the Allmadras who appear as a people of this division (No. 83). The name is a corruption of Arimarddana, a name of Pāṇḍava Arjuna, and plainly survives in the modern Mardan tahsil, which lies to the north of the Kabul river in the Yusufzai subdivision of Peshwar District.

Next to the Lampākas we have reference to the Stanapas (No. 79) and Piḍikas (No. 80) followed by other names of Afganistan. As noted before, the text is corrupt here and no two readings are even slightly similar. Perhaps the two words were originally one, subsequently split up into two owing to textual corruption, for the *Mahābhārata* refers to a people called Stanapoṣikas of the group of the fierce Mleccas<sup>4</sup>. This may contain a clue that the Stanapas and Piḍikas stand for one name, and that the 'Piḍikas' represent a word like Poṣikā, but as it is unmeaning, the original, judged by the characters, was probably Prāsikas i. e. the people who are armed with spears. 'Stana' is a mistake for Sthāna or land, consequently Sthāna Prāsikas would seem to be a transposition of Prāsika-sthāna, that is, the land of the people who are armed with spear. If this be the right reading of the name, there is no doubt that it is the same as Parśus-thāna of Pāṇini (v. 3. 117), the country of Parśus, a warlike tribe of the north or north-west. Zimmer connects the Parśus of Pāṇini with the Parśus of the *Rgveda*.<sup>5</sup> They were also perhaps one in race with the Parsloi, one of the tribes collectively designated Parapamisadai, and the Parāchis mentioned by Babar among the tribes of Afganistan.<sup>6</sup>

The Chinese traveller Hiuen Tsang also visited the country of these people, for his *Fu-li-shih-Sa-t'anṅ-na* is restored as Urdhha sthāna by Cunningham, and Parāchisthāna by Yule<sup>7</sup>, all of which refer to the Kabul district<sup>8</sup>. The pilgrim records that the men were naturally fierce and impetuous. Evidently both Pāṇini and Hiuen

<sup>1</sup> VJN, p. 37, v. 25.

<sup>2</sup> PHAL, p. 359.

<sup>3</sup> AIA, II, p. 406.

<sup>4</sup> vi. 9. 68.

<sup>5</sup> Ved, Ind., I, 504-5.

<sup>6</sup> BR, II, p. 285, fn. 8.

<sup>7</sup> YC, II, pp. 266-68. Sir R. G. Bhandarkar restores the name as

Parshusthāna (IA.1.22).

<sup>8</sup> Supra p. 99, fn.



Tsang refer to the warlike people called *Parsus* who lived in the Kabul district of Afghanistan. This also agrees with the position of the *Jāguḍas* (No. 81) mentioned next.

In the *Mahābhārata*<sup>1</sup>, the *Jaguḍas* are grouped with the *Rāmaṭhas* and *Taṅganās*, and in the *Matsya Purāṇa* with other such frontier tribes: *Daradorjjaguḍāṁ ścaiva*.<sup>2</sup>

Hiuen Tsang journeyed north-west from *Fa-la-na* (Bannu) and crossing mountains and rivers reached the country of *Tsao-Ku-t'a* which was 7000 li in circuit. Its capital was *Ho-si-na* i. e. Ghazni<sup>3</sup>. Mention is made of another city of the kingdom called *Ho-sa-lo* and the river *Lo-mo yin-tu*. The river is regarded as the same as Helmand and the city *Ho-sa-lo* has been identified by Cunningham with Guzaristan on the Helmand, just to the west of Ghazni, the *Ozola* of Ptolemy<sup>4</sup>. *Tsao-ku-t'a* is a transcription of *Jāguḍa* which means saffron. In the Narrative we read: "The soil is favourable for the *Yo-kin* plant (turmeric) and for the *King-Kiu* (Hingu, *asafoetida*); this last grows in the valley *Lo-ma-in tu*."<sup>5</sup> One of the chief exports of Afghanistan is *asafoetida*<sup>6</sup> and on these grounds it may be held that *Tsao-ku-t'a* and its Sanskrit equivalent *Jāguḍa*, speaking territorially, correspond to Ghazni<sup>7</sup> and the neighbouring parts of Afganistan. Further, Jaghuri to the south of Ghazni in the Kandahar Province bears a likeness to the name *Jāguḍa*; the country name originating from saffron (*Jāguḍa*) the principal commodity of the country.

The *Jaguḍa* country thus embraced a considerable portion of territory to the north of Kandahar, for the Kandahar province extended from Taimani, Hazaristan, and Ghazni on the north to Baluchistan on the south. The Helmand (Etymander) river with its tributaries drains this south-western portion of Afghanistan. Roughly speaking Kandahar formed a part of the Greek Satrapy of Arachosia which "extended from the chain of mountains now called the Suleiman as far southward as Gedrosia (Mekran)"<sup>8</sup>. The Zend

<sup>1</sup> iii. 51. 25.

<sup>2</sup> 121. 46-7. It is said that the Indus flowed through the *janapada* of *Jaguḍa*.

<sup>3</sup> YC, II, pp. 24-6,

<sup>4</sup> BR, II, p. 283, fn. 2; CAGI, p. 46

<sup>5</sup> Ibid.

<sup>6</sup> IG. V. 57.

<sup>7</sup> In a Chinese account of the later part of the 10th century A. D., Ghazni is perhaps referred to as *Go-je-nang* (IA. XIII. 23).

<sup>8</sup> MM, p. 158. Others extend the boundaries still farther on the north as far as the western section of the Hindu kush, and on the east the river Indus (MA, p. 88, fn. 1).

name of Arachosia was Haraqaiti or Harahvaiti and its old Persian name was Harauvati all of which are supposed to have been derived from Sanskrit Sarasvatī<sup>1</sup>, the name of Helmand. We have in our list, a name Yaśovatī (No. 41) mentioned immediately after the Gandhāras (No. 40), which might have been used as an ancient Sanskrit designation of the Helmand basin<sup>2</sup>. Abul Fazl also writes that the meaning of Hirmand (Helmand) is 'abounding in blessings'; which is a clear approach to the name of Yaśovatī<sup>3</sup>.

The province of Kandahar is bounded on the west by Farrah (Prophthasia of Strabo), which is the northern capital of Seistan, where (Seistan Hāmūn) the Helmand with its tributaries eventually loses itself. Even this far western tract was within the range of early geographical tradition. Strabo refers to Prophthasia, (Farrah) as being within Drangiane<sup>4</sup> corresponding to the province now known as Seistan. Drangiane had another city known as Zaranj, situated between the river Helmand and Zarah, the lake of Seistan. Now, the inhabitants of these places under various disguises of the name such as Drangai, Zarangae, Zarangoi, Zarangaioi and Sarangai<sup>5</sup> were known to ancient geographers. In Ptolemy's Geography the name Drangiane occurs as the equivalent of Seistan.<sup>6</sup> In our list of western peoples we get the name Jṛṅgas (No. 15), which plainly refers to Zarangae or Zaranj. The Persian form of the name was Zranka: it occurs in the inscriptions of Darius along with Pārthava and Haraiva.<sup>7</sup> The name Sakasthāna from which the name Seistan

1 Indo-Aryan domination in this region in ancient times has left its trace in the geographical nomenclature of the country. Wilson says that a variety of ancient designations of which 'Aria' is a component element (Cf. Ariāna) are connected with the term Ārya. The Zend name for the country to the west of the Indus was 'Eriene-veejo', that is, the Sanskrit Āryāvarta (Wilson, *Ariana, Antiqua*, London, pp. 121-22). Cf. also Prākāṣa of Paṇḍit, Parikanioi of Herodotus, and mod. Ferghāna (IHQ. XXIX. 14).

2 The river Sarasvatī (Helmand or Arghandab, Vedic Index, II, p. 437) may have given its name to the country around, and all ancient denominations such as Harauvati of the Persians, Arachosia of the Greeks and possibly *Tsao-Ku-i'a* of the Chinese (CAGI, pp. 46 ff.) had their roots in that name. K. Chattopadhyaya says that the Indus was known as Sarasvatī which accounts for the name of Haraxvaiti given to Arachosia lying to the west of Indus (JDL. 1937, XV, p. 42).

3 AIA, II, p. 394.

4 MA, p. 87.

5 Ibid 87-88, fn. 7.

6 MT, p. 314 and 397.

7 SI. 4, L. 16; p. 7, L. 15. Haraiva refers to the people of Harayū (Pāṇ, Sārava) the Sarayū of remote times, flowing past Herat (Hari-Rūd of old Persian) their capital city.

was derived<sup>1</sup>, was applied later on—the country being known to the Persians and the Indians by the name of Zranka and Jṛnga respectively. According to Sir Thomas Holdich, 'Zarangai covers the historic Kaiani of Seistan supposed to be the same as the Kakaya of Sanskrit'.<sup>2</sup>

Mention is made of another people called Apagas ( No. 82 ) immediately after the Jāguḍas. Apaga has been interpreted as representing ancient Afghanistan<sup>3</sup>. The separate mention of the Apagas ( North ) and Aśmakas ( Central and North-West ) in our lists, however, strengthens the view already explained that the Aśvakas or Āśvakāyanas ( Aśmaka or Assakenoi ) had no connection with the name Avghān.<sup>4</sup> It is pointed out by Dr. Bellow that 'Afghān' merely means 'mountaineer', the source of which is the Armenian Aghvān, and is not strictly speaking the ethnic term of a district race<sup>5</sup>.

Hiuen Tsang's *O-po-kien* is restored by M. Julien as Avakan, while Cunningham considers that the exact equivalent would be Avaghan<sup>6</sup>. All these names appear to be closest transcripts of Afghan, but the Sanskrit designation Apaga cannot be connected with Afghan. Perhaps the original was a word like 'Ava' or 'Apa-gahana' i.e. down the forest. The word Avagahana might well be contracted into Avaghan ( or Abhagana )<sup>7</sup>, whence was obtained the Chinese name ; and finally into Avagana ultimately yielding to Afghan. Hence it appears that the name Apagas is a mistake for Avagahanas, meaning the people who lived down the hills. This is supported by the evidence of the *Bṛhat-Saṃhitā* where the Avaganas are mentioned several times mostly in conjunction with other foreign tribes.<sup>8</sup> The original name suggested here, presents us with an accurate enough transcript of that form of the Indian designation of Afghanistan, which might have been the basis of all other foreign appellations. The alternative and the most ancient national name of the people of Afghanistan was Paktha, which is mentioned as the name of a people in the *R̥gveda*<sup>9</sup>.

<sup>1</sup> DHN I, p. 65. fn. 1.

<sup>2</sup> Gates of India, p. 34.     <sup>3</sup> DD, p. 9 ; *Brahmāṇḍa Purāṇa*, ch. 49, 54.

<sup>4</sup> MM, pp. 157-158, fn. Also see supra, pp. 49-51.

<sup>5</sup> MI, p. 334. A tradition recorded in the *Ain-i-Akbari* carries the origin of the Afghāns directly back to an eponymous Israelite ancestor Afghan (AIA, II, p. 402).

<sup>6</sup> CAGI, pp. 100-103.

<sup>7</sup> For similar instances see DD, p. v.

<sup>8</sup> Bṛam., XI. 61 : *Colāvagūṇasitahūṇacīnānām*. cf. also XVI. 38.

<sup>9</sup> vii. 18. 7.

They are connected with Pakhtūn in Eastern Afghanistan, the Paktyi of Herodotus<sup>1</sup>. This is regarded as a proof of the existence of the Afghan or Pakht nationality on the basin of the Kophes in the centuries before the Christian era<sup>2</sup>. The name Avagana, a later appellation, being derived from the physical features of the country, so common in the geographical nomenclature of ancient India, seems to be the most suitable geographical expression that can be regarded as synonymous with the whole of Afghanistan.

But Avagana, too, had a restricted application, for its Chinese equivalent *O-po-kien* embraced only the south-eastern portion of Afghanistan, which according to Cunningham was one of the original seats of the Afghan people<sup>3</sup>. It cannot be said definitely when the name was employed to cover the modern country of Afghanistan.

The first historical mention of Afghans was perhaps made in the year 1024 A.D. when Mahmud of Ghazni made a raid into the mountains inhabited by the Afghānīān. But the extensive application, in a political sense, of the term Afghānistān is ascribed to the Durrāni chiefs. It became the general designation of the country extending from the Punjab on the east, to Persia on the west, and stretching down from the Amu-Daria on the north to the frontiers of Baluchistan on the south. Within these limits are to be located many other tribes of Indian ethnography. Afghan-Turkistan (northern Afghanistan) consisted of the Khanates of Balkh, Khulm. (Tash-Kurgham) Kunduz, Kataghan (Kata-ghans), Badakshan (Badakshis) and Wakhan<sup>4</sup>. Of these, Kataghan, Badakshan and Wakhan, now form a separate province, and is simply called Turkistan by the inhabitants. But Turkistan or Tukhāristan was not confined merely to this tract; it also covered the other Western Khannates, and the entire country, i. e. the Oxus basin long continued to be known to the Muhammadans as Tukhāristān.

The ethnic name connected with this country (Tukhāristān) is Tukhāra, which is the same as the Tokharoi of classical writers<sup>5</sup>, and Tuṣāra of Sanskrit texts<sup>6</sup>. In our lists we have the forms

<sup>1</sup> The races of Afghanistan by Surgeon-Major H. W. Hellow, Thacker, Spink & Co., Calcutta, MDCCCLXXX, pp. 56-57.      <sup>2</sup> MM, pp. 157-58.

<sup>3</sup> CAGI, p. 101. Cunningham says that Kaofu of the Chinese embraced the whole of modern Afghanistan (Ibid. 20-21).

<sup>4</sup> Index Geographicus Indicus, by J. F. Baines, Newman, Calcutta, 1881, p. 172-74; Bellow, The races of Afghanistan, Intro; pp. 11-12.

<sup>5</sup> MT, p. 268.

<sup>6</sup> Cf. Mat. Purāṇa, ch. 121. 45-46.

Tukhāras, who appear as a people of this division (No. 73) and Tuṣaras a people of the North-West (No. 2; chart No. III). In the *Mahābhārata*, they are mentioned as Tuṣaras<sup>1</sup> and are also referred to in the *Rā'atarāṅgi*<sup>2</sup>. Dr. Stein says that the statement of Hiuen Tsang about the country and the people makes it certain that the people who were possibly a branch of the Yue-tohi nation had given its name to the Upper Oxus Valley, including Balkh and Badakshan. But in the 'Life' of the Chinese pilgrim, mention is made of *Tu-hu-lo*, i. e. Tukhāra between the Bamian Pass (*Fan-yen-na*) through which he entered the Kabul valley, and the great snowy mountain which was evidently the western spur of Hindu kush (Caucasus)<sup>3</sup>. This indicates that the Ghorbund valley was known as Tukhāra. On his return journey the pilgrim left India by the Khawāk Pass along the Panjshir valley. He crossed a mountain (Hindu kush) and reached Andarab or Indarab (*An-ta-lo-fo-po*) in Khoondooz or Khunduz, which was also known to Hiuen Tsang as *Tu-ho-lo*<sup>4</sup>. Similar other statements show that the Tukhāra country extended from Kunduz to Badakshan<sup>5</sup> (*Po-ta-na*) on the east.

No doubt Tukhāra country i. e. Tukhāristān or Turkestan was that country which was inhabited by the Tukhāras of our text, but they need not be regarded as wholly identical with the Turks who had overrun this part of Central Asia<sup>6</sup>; for Hiuen Tsang distinguishes between the two and says that the Tukhāra chiefs were dependent on the Tuh-Kiueh (Turk) tribes<sup>7</sup>. If the Tukhāras appear as a people of the 'North' in our text, the Turuṣkas or Turks are mentioned as a people of the Western Division (No. 14). The name Tārakṣuras under that entry easily resolves into Turuṣkas which is an equivalent of the Turks, the people of Turkistan<sup>8</sup>. The land between the Oxus and the Jaxartes<sup>9</sup>, i. e. ancient Tartary, the

<sup>1</sup> Mbh (B)., ii. 44. 25

<sup>2</sup> IV. 166. RT, I, p. 136.

<sup>3</sup> BH, p. 52.

<sup>4</sup> BH, p. 195.

<sup>5</sup> BH, p. 197.

<sup>6</sup> BR, I, p. 20, fn. 62.

<sup>7</sup> BR, I, p. 37-38

<sup>8</sup> But Turuṣka of mediaeval inscriptions refers to the Muhammadans of India. Cf. EI. XVIII. 112, vs. 8-11.

<sup>9</sup> Jaxartes appears to be a combination of the words Jai and Araxes of Scythia as N. L. De points out. He further says that the river is the Raśā of the *Rgveda*, Raṅghā of the *Avesta*, Śits of the *Mahābhārata* and perhaps Gabhastī of the *Purāṇas* (IHQ. II. 530-1). It is the Syr-daria of the present times and falls into the sea of Aral.

Transoxania of the Romans is believed to have been invaded by the Turks for the first time in the centuries before the Christian era, which justifies the assumption that the people were known to the Indian writers.

It is suggested that the ancient Iranian name of Bokhara the famous city of Turkistan before its occupation by the Turks was Jemu-Ket, the Sanskrit counterpart of which was Yamakoṭī<sup>1</sup>. But what is the original of the word Bokhara, the name of the country and its city ?

Dr. Stein points out that the reading of Tukhāra of the *Rājataranṅiṇī* varies with bhuḥ khārāḥ<sup>2</sup> i. e. Bukhara. But there is no competent standard authority for the employment of Tukhāra to denote the country to which the name Bokhara was applied. Bokhara or Bukhara as the designation of ancient Sogdiana is also not found in Sanskrit literature. Vambéry in his History of Bukhara says, that the Mongol word Bukhar "is even now the word for a Buddhistic 'temple' or 'monastery'". But it is held that Bukhar is not a Mongol word, but merely the transcription of the Sanskrit Vihāra which was borrowed by the Mongols<sup>3</sup>. It is not improbable that the name Bokhara which is roughly equivalent to ancient Sogdiana was derived from a Sanskrit original like Vihāra ; and the bhuḥ Khārāḥ of the *Rājataranṅiṇī* perhaps presents us with an intermediate stage between the Sanskrit Vihāra and the modern Bokhara. The Tukhāras, therefore, had no connection in the naming of Bokhara, the ethnic counterpart of which might have been a term like Vihāras. In the list of this division mention is made of a people immediately after the Tukhāras, but the name is distorted beyond recognition : this is Bāhyatodaras (No. 74). The characters seem to require an original like Vihāra-dvāra, i. e. the gate of the monastery. It is questionable how far the name represents the people of ancient Vihāra country or Bokhara, but it is difficult to believe that the information underlying this entry referred to any other people but them. The grouping and the bearing of the name, offer grounds on which this conjecture can be based.

Samarkand the chief city of Tartary or Transoxiana in which Sogdiana was situated was known as Marakanda in the time of

<sup>1</sup> Ibid. 527-28. Of Bokhara City of Tartary—Taittirinagar of *Bhaviṣya-Pu.*

<sup>2</sup> RT, I, p. 137, fn.

<sup>3</sup> Turkistan, by E. Schuyler, London, 1876, 2nd edition, Vol. I, p. 368.

Alexander's invasion. It was the capital of the Sogdiana<sup>1</sup>, and bore traces of a Sanskrit name. The 'Khand' is an Indian word for a district or province and Samarkhand may be interpreted without any extravagance by Samara-Khaṇḍa, 'the war-like province'. Hiuen Tsang refers to the king of *Sa-mo-kiā* as possessing strong and brave soldiers who were principally men of Chih-Kia<sup>2</sup>. It is stated that Chih-Kia stands for Chalak, a city near Samarkand, which was "famed for its tall strong men who were much sought after as soldiers"<sup>3</sup>. All these referred to the Sanskrit meaning of the word Samara. In our list of this Division we have reference to a people called Carmakhaṇḍikas (No. 56). The name is very much distorted and carries no meaning, but it is not improbable that it is a mistake for Samarakhaṇḍikas<sup>4</sup>, the inhabitants of Samarkand<sup>5</sup>.

But of all the races of Afghan-Turkistan, the people of the Khanate of Balkh were perhaps the oldest and the most well-known. The Bāhikas, appearing under various disguises of the name in the legendary accounts<sup>6</sup>, are located by some scholars somewhere near the Kuru land<sup>7</sup>. But the mention of the people in the *Atharvaveda Pariśiṣṭa* where they are grouped with Śaka, Yavana, Tukhāra<sup>8</sup> shows that the Vedic Bāhikas are to be located far away in the North<sup>9</sup>. The evidence in favour of this hypothesis is also found in later literature. Kātyāyana (4th century B. C.) in his *Vārtika* to Pāṇini IV. 2. 99 mentions Bāhlāyana, which he derives from the word Bāhlī<sup>10</sup>, on the strength of the example of Pāṇini's derivation of Kāpiśāyana from Kāpiśī.

<sup>1</sup> MI, p. 40. For names ending in Kand (Kantha), See Agrawala in IHQ. XXIX. pp. 29-30.

<sup>2</sup> BR, I, p. 33.

<sup>3</sup> YC, I, p. 94.

<sup>4</sup> MP, p. 314.

<sup>5</sup> The Carmakhaṇḍika of our list may also be amended as Carbikhaṇḍa, i. e. Fat land. It is to be noted that other Chinese names of Samarkand stand for the Turkish Semez-Kand meaning 'Fat land' (YC, I, p. 93).

<sup>6</sup> The Prākṛit form of the name, as found in a Taxila inscription is Bahallena which is mentioned as a city (EI. XIV. 295). In Sanskrit literature the name is given as Vāhlika or Bāhlika or Bāhika.

<sup>7</sup> CH. I. 124; Ved. Ind., II. 62; MP, p. 311.

<sup>8</sup> 41. 3, 3. ed., by Bölling and Negelsin, p. 351.

<sup>9</sup> Cf. the hymn: "Go to the Mūjavants or to the Bāhikas, further off" (Harvard Oriental Series, Vol. VII, Atharvaveda, p. 260). See Ved. Ind.; II. 63, for the views of Roth and Weber which are not accepted by the authors.

<sup>10</sup> The Bāhlī country is also mentioned in the Arthasāstra of Kauṭilya (1st edn., p. 79 by Shama-Sastri).

In the *Kāmasūtra* of Vātsyāyana (3rd A. D.) Bāhlika is grouped with Strirājya,<sup>1</sup> which occurs in our list of the North-Western Division. The peculiar custom obtaining in the Bāhlika country, viz. several young men being married to a single woman as in Strirājya (*Strirājye ca Bāhlike vāhaboyubāno'ntahpurasadharmāṇ ekaikaṣyāḥ parigrahabhūtāḥ*), appears to be an outlandish custom prevailing in the regions to the west of India. The *Jayamaṅgalā* Commentary also explains that Bāhlika was in Uttarāpatha.<sup>2</sup> The *Nāṭyaśāstra* of Bharata informs us that the *Bāhlikabhāṣā* was spoken by the *Udīcyas*<sup>3</sup>. The Meherauli Iron-pillar inscription of about the fourth century A. D. similarly records that they were a people living on the other side of the Indus far to the west<sup>4</sup>.

Kālidāsa does not refer to the Bāhlikas, although he mentions the Hūṇas, whom Raghu in course of his expedition met on the banks of the Vaṅkṣū (Oxus)<sup>5</sup>. The reference to filaments of saffron of Vaṅkṣū (v. 67), added with the information obtained from the lexicon of Amara, that saffron is grown in the Bāhlika country<sup>6</sup>, which is corroborated by Kṣīrasvāmīn, the earliest commentator of

1 VKS, p. 385.

2 Ibid. 371.

3 xvii 48.

4 Some scholars point to the difficulty of connecting the Vāhlikas of the Meherauli Ins. with Balkh (JRAS. 1897, p. 8; IA. XXII. 174, 192-3; Allan, Catalogue of the coins of the Gupta dynasty in the British Museum, p. XXXVI), Pargiter says that they had already entered India by the 3rd A. D. and were ruling the Vindhyas (Dynasties of the Kali Age, p. 50). It is also suggested that the different places in India were given the name Bāhlika, one of which might have been intended in the ins. under review (MT, p. 395). Bāhlika is also equated with the Barasa of the author of Periplus (Periplus, p. 174). Another view is that the association of Vāhlikas with Sindhu in the ins. only alludes to the foreign origin of the people (HAIB, pp. 206-7). Dr. D. R. Bhandarkar writes that the Vāhlikas of the Meherauli Pillar Inscription were settled not far from Vishnupada, which on the authority of the *Mahābhārata*, as pointed out by J. C. Ghosh was in the region through which flowed the northernmost part of the Beas (IC. III. 511:18). We have already noted that the *Rāmāyaṇa* refers to the existence of a Bāhlika settlement somewhere between the Beas and the Jumna (Supra p. 90 fn.). For other theories on the subject, see C. Chakravarty, ABORI. 1926-7, p. 174; K. P. Jayaswal, JBORS. XVIII, p. 31; Smith, JRAS. 1897, pp. 15-17; R. C. Mazumdar, Early History of Bengal, Dacca University Bulletin, No. 2, 1925, p. 7; IC. I. 518-19; D. C. Sircar, SI. 276. fn. 3.

5 iv. 67-68. The reading Sindhu of the passage is plainly a mistake for Vaṅkṣū, as the context indicates. See IHQ. XXVI. 118, fn. 3.

6 *Amarakosa*, Oka's edition, p. 110. verse 124.



Amara<sup>1</sup>, clearly shows that the Bāhlika country bordered on the Oxus.

The Vāhlikas figure very frequently in the Epics<sup>2</sup> and Purāṇic literature, particularly in the *Mahābhārata* where they are referred to mainly as a great fighting power of the Kurukṣetra war<sup>3</sup>. Other notices in particular are of great value, in that, they confirm the antiquity of the Bāhlika country as the seat of an independent kingdom at some remote date, and prove beyond doubt that the Bāhlikas were connected with the peoples of the Aryan world in the relations of both peace and war. Ancient tradition connects the Bāhlikas with the Dhārṣṭakas, a Kṣatriya clan who occupied the Bāhlika country<sup>4</sup>. Bahlika-Prātipīya of the *Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa*<sup>5</sup>, who is called a king of the Kauravas, is perhaps the same as Mahārāja Bāhlika Prātipēya of the *Mahābhārata*<sup>6</sup>. A tradition contained in the *Rāmāyaṇa* even goes to indicate that the Kuru royal family originally migrated from the Bāhlika country. The passage in question<sup>7</sup> states that Ila, son of the Prajapati Kardama, who was the king of the Vāhli country, gave up Bahlika in favour of his son Śaśavindu, and founded a new city Pratiṣṭhānapura in the Madhya-deśa, where his other son Pururava Aila continued to rule. This links up the Ailas, the progenitor of the Kurus, with the Kardama royal family of Bāhli. Dr. H. C. Roy Chaudhuri says that, Kardama, the name of the ruling family of Vāhlika was obtained from the river of that name in Persia, and concludes that the home of the Kardama kings should be identified with Bāhlika or Balkh in Iran, and not with any territory in India proper<sup>8</sup>.

<sup>1</sup> Ibid. *Bāhlika desajam* ( *Bāhlikam* ) *Yadraghoruttaradigvijaye dudhuburbājinaḥ* etc. The Chinese pilgrim Hsuen Tsang also speaks of saffron grown round about that country ( YC, I, p. 124 ).

<sup>2</sup> In the great Epic, Bāhlika is sometimes confounded with Bāhika. Nilakaṇṭha in his gloss on Mbh., v. 39. 80, makes the same mistake.

<sup>3</sup> Of. ii. 27. 22 ; *Paṇama Vikrānto Bāhlikān*.

<sup>4</sup> AIHT, p. 256.

<sup>5</sup> xii. 9. 3. 3.

<sup>6</sup> v. 23. 9 ; 149. 27 ; JRAS. 1910, p. 52.

<sup>7</sup> Rām ; vii. 103, 7, 21, 22, cf. *Linga Purāṇa*, Pt. 1. ch. 65

<sup>8</sup> IHQ. IX. 37-39. Kārdama river is identified with the Zarafshan which flows through Bokhara ( PHAI, p. 363, fn. 3 ). Kauṭilya refers to Kārdamika pearl and the Commentary runs ( AS, p. 76 ) that Kārdama was in Persia ( IC. I. 251-52 ). N. L. De points out on the authority of Faesboll that the river Zarafshan which flows a little to the north of Bokhara and Samarkand was the Hāṭaki-nadi of the Bhāgavata and Hiranyavati of other

In the 'Life' it is stated, that Hiuen Tsang was informed by the Sheh of Hwo (Kunduz), that among his possessions was a country called Fo ho-lo bordering northward on the Oxus, the capital of which was called Rājagrha<sup>1</sup>. The same country is referred to in the 'Narrative' of the pilgrim as Fo-ho, lying to the west of Ho-lin and reaching on the north to the Oxus<sup>2</sup>, the capital of which was the little Rājagrha. Ho-lin is Khulm (50 miles east of Balkh), the name of a country, and also of a tributary of the Oxus which separates Khulm from Balkh on the west. The Chinese name which is an equivalent of Balkh evidently refers to modern Balkh in Afghan-Turkistan, the home of the Bāhikas.

Balkh<sup>3</sup> of the Bactrian Satrapy<sup>4</sup>, one of the oldest cities of the world, was a city of wealth and fame. Strabo says that it was the ornament of all Ariana and the emporium of Asiatic commerce. It stood on the great high ways of communication from east to west, and according to the *Zend-avesta* it was situated on the border of the gold country in the road of the confluence of nations<sup>5</sup>. Darius made it a satrapy, Alexander passed through it, and Seleucus annexed it to his dominions. When Hiuen Tsang visited Balkh it was still a great centre of Buddhist faith<sup>6</sup>, but after the overthrow of the Sassanid kingdom by the Arabs, the ancient Bactrian satrapy along with the adjoining territories passed under the control of Khorasan, the seat of the Muhammadan power.

Besides Bactria, Strabo refers to another city of Baktriane called Adraspa which was most probably Kunduz<sup>7</sup>. We have reference to another city of Bactrian Satrapy known as Aornos<sup>8</sup>. Its location has not been definitely ascertained. Was it Alexandria Arion (Herat)<sup>9</sup> one of the three cities (Alexandria Arachoton and

texts all of which mean the 'golden river'. The word Zarafshan also means 'scatterer' or 'Distributor' of gold. It was called golden river because it brought fertility to the soil (IHQ II. 531-32).

<sup>1</sup> BH, pp. 47-48.

<sup>2</sup> YO, I, p. 108.

<sup>3</sup> MT, p. 269 and 273. There can be no doubt that Balkh was the country to which the name Bactria was assigned by the Greeks (Holdich *Gates of India*, p. 88). For geographical notices of the adjoining regions in Idrisi's itinerary see, p. 271 ff.

<sup>4</sup> MI, p. 39.

<sup>5</sup> Wilson, op. cit. p. 163.

<sup>6</sup> BR, I, pp. 44-47.

<sup>7</sup> MA, p. 90. But Sir Thomas Holdich equates Adraspa with Andarat (*Gates of India*, p. 90).

<sup>8</sup> MI, p. 39.

<sup>9</sup> Ibid. 36-37.

Alexandria apud caucasum) which owe their foundation or rebuilding to him? The word Aornos<sup>1</sup>, however, most correctly transliterates Sanskrit Ūrṇas, the name of a people of the NE. division (N<sup>o</sup>. 40).

These settlements make it clear that the races of the far distant Oxus valley formed an integral part of ancient Indian ethnographical tradition. We have in another passage a searching reference to the other peoples of this region :—

*Atha Cīna marūṁścaiva Kālikāṁścaiva cūlakān  
Tuṣārān Varbarākārān Pahlavāṇ Pārādāñcakān  
Etān janapadāṁścakṣuḥ plāvayitvodadhīm gatū<sup>1</sup>.*

The river Cakṣu is the Oshos of Curtius<sup>2</sup>, and Okos of the Greeks, all referring to the Oxus, which derived its name from its tributary, the Vaksh or Akṣu. In the Purāṇas, it is variously mentioned as Vakṣu, Vamṁkṣu, Cakṣu and Ikṣu. It is the famous river Amu-Darya, which rises from Lake Victoria (Siri-Kul) in the great Pamir plateau and empties itself into the Aral Sea. The Oxus basin which occupies the whole breadth of Northern Afghanistan, therefore, linked up India with Persia, and Afghanistan with Turkistan, and as such formed a great ethnographic watershed. The passage cited above clearly refers to it.

The Cīnas appear as a people of this division (No. 72) being followed by the Tukhāras and were perhaps living somewhere near the Oxus in Bokhara. In the *Mahābhārata* they are linked with the Yavanas and Kāmbojas<sup>3</sup>. According to one writer, the Cīnas represent the people of modern Gilgit, Astor and Yassan<sup>4</sup>. The mention of Cīna in the *Milindā-pañho* along with many other old Indian principalities suggests that a country of this name existed in India<sup>5</sup> : they are also frequently mentioned among the retinue of Bhagadatta, king of Prāg-jyotiṣa<sup>6</sup>. Pargiter writes that in the *Mahābhārata* they are always spoken of with respect and admiration<sup>7</sup>, but according

<sup>1</sup> *Matsya Purāṇa*, 121. 45-46.    <sup>2</sup> *MI*, p. 42.    <sup>3</sup> *vi*. 9. 65.

<sup>4</sup> *NHH*, ch. II, p. 15. Atkinson says "the correct name of the principal tribe inhabiting Gilgit, Astor and the Indus valley is Shīn or Shing, possibly the Cīnas of the Purāṇas". In the late Buddhist Chronicle the *Ārya-mañjuśrī-mūla-Kalpa*, Cīna is mentioned in association with Kāśmīra (*AMKLP*, p. 88, v. 2). Reference is also made to a country called Mahācīna (v. 3).

<sup>5</sup> *SBE*, XXVI, 327-8, 331.

<sup>6</sup> *Mbh*, II. 26 9.

<sup>7</sup> *MP*, p. 319.

to Manu they were Kṣatriyas who became degraded<sup>1</sup>. In the *Kaishā-S-Sāgara*, prince and princess of China are treated on a footing of equality<sup>2</sup> with the Indian chiefs, but foreign character of the country of this name is also hinted in the same book<sup>3</sup>.

Maru in the *śloka* given above may refer to the great desert country including Merv and Tejen which lies to the north-west of Afghanistan. Pāṇini's Dhanva ( IV. 2. 121 ) and the information furnished by Patañjali and by the *Kāśikā* indicate that Pāre-Dhanva stood for a far-off desert lying beyond the borders of India<sup>4</sup>. 'Meru' was possibly derived from a sanskrit word like Marubha i. e. the people of the desert. But Maru-kacchas who appear as a people of the North-Western Division ( No. 15 ) may be plausibly connected with the people of the Indian desert<sup>5</sup>. It is the Pāraskara of Pāṇini ( VI. 1. 157 ) which Patañjali treats as a *deśa* corresponding to Thara-Pārakara, the great desert of Sindh 'which once denoted the whole of its south-eastern part up to the coast of the Great Rann of Kacch' or Kaccha-Irīṇa<sup>6</sup>. This offers the clue to the geographical application of the joint name of the Marus and Kacchas, Kaccha ( Cutch ) being historically connected with Sind Pārkar from very early times<sup>7</sup>.

The Cūlikas are apparently a variant of the Śūlikas who are mentioned as a people of this division ( No. 89 ) and also of the North-West ( No. 18 ) ; their exact location cannot be determined, but it was certainly somewhere in Turkistan on the Oxus. In one of the passages of the *Bṛhat-Saṁhitā* the Śūlikas are grouped with the Gāndhāras<sup>8</sup>, and in another with the Vokkāṇas<sup>9</sup>. Tārānath places, Śūlika in the vicinity of Tukhāra ; Tukhāra, Śūlika and Vokkāṇa were thus probably a contiguous group of tribal settlements<sup>10</sup>. The Vokkāṇas were the people of Wakhan in the little Pamir plateau, which is watered by the various tributaries of the upper reaches of the Oxus. In the Chinese sources dealing with the rise of the Kushāṇa power, mention is made of *Hiu-mi*, the

1 x. 43 and 44.

2 KSSR, I, p. 407 and 418.

3 Ibid. I, p. 394. Cf. also *China-vaṭāni* ( El. XX. 79-80, line 14 ).

4 IHQ. XXIX. 12-13.

5 But Kern says that the name is Merukucca and not Kacca and that they lived in modern Kaferistan or thereabouts ( Kern, *Bṛhat-saṁhitā*, p. 24 ).

6 IHQ. XXIX. 16-17.

7 CAGI, p. 347.

8 IX. 21. Cf. IX. 15 ; XIV. 8 where a different context is implied.

9 XVI. 35.

10 IHQ, XXVII. 49.

present Wakhan, *Shuang-mi*, i. e. Chitral and *Kuei-Shuang* or Gandhara and others<sup>1</sup>. The Tusgras have been noticed<sup>2</sup>, and the Varbaras of the passage and also of our list (No. 70) represent the various rude tribes who lived in the unexplored regions in the lower course of the Oxus near about the trans-Caspian province<sup>3</sup>. The Pallavas were a fierce *mlecca* people<sup>4</sup>. According to Buhler, Pahlava and its Iranian prototype Pahlav, are corruptions of Parthava, the indigenous name of the Parthians<sup>5</sup>. The word Pārthava<sup>6</sup> is regarded as the early Sanskritised form of the name from which Pahlava has been derived<sup>7</sup>. In one of the many curious legends told in the *Rāmāyaṇa* it is said that the Pahlavas, Yavanas, Śakas, and Kambojas were created from the tail of the cow Kāmadheṇu. The *Harivaṃśa* refers to them as a degraded people having beards and also as dwelling in forests<sup>8</sup>.

The Parthians lived in Media but enjoyed a brief spell of rule in Kabul and the frontier regions of India in about A. D. 43-44 and thereafter. The most famous of the Indo-Parthian rulers were Mithradates I, Vonones and Gandopharnes. The reference to Pahlava *amātya* Suviśākha in Rudradāman's inscription shows that by that time (2nd A. D.) the foreigners had been quite well known.

The other people the Pāradas are also mentioned in the *Mahābhārata* in a list of barbarous tribes<sup>9</sup>, and all other allusions indicate that they were mainly a northern<sup>10</sup> or north-western race or

1 S. Konow in EI. XXI. 258; PHAI, p. 383. For the identification of Vokkāna with Hyrkānia of Ptolemy's Geography, see MT, pp. 260-62, 393.

2 Supra p. 105 ff.

3 There is no sufficient ground to hold, that the people of this name known to classical writers are the same as the Varbaras of the text who are clearly placed in the Oxus valley. Dr. B. C. Law (IC. I. 388-89; TAI, p. 92) for instance, refers to the Barbara country of *Arthasūtra* where it may have been used to denote the region round Karachi. Cf. the Barbara *janapada* of the *Gaṇapāṭha* of Pāṇini (IV. 3. 93), a coastal country with its port Barbarika. Dr. Sircar similarly connects Varbara with Barbaricum (IHQ. XXI. 303, fn. 30).

4 Mbh; VI. 9. 68.

5 SBE, XXV. Intro; p. OXV. Cf. Pārthava of the inscriptions of Darius (SI, p. 4, L. 16; p. 7, L. 15).

6 Pārthavas are mentioned in the *Rgveda* (vi. 27. 8). According to Ludwig they were the same as the Parthians (Ved. Ind., I. 504).

7 OII. III. 250.

8 HV, i. 14.17; i. 27. 13, 32, 50.

9 Mbh (B), ii. 49. 8. 9; 50. 2-4; 50. 13. 10 Cf. Mbh (B), vi. 84. 7.

a hill tribe like the Taṅṅanas and Kulindas. Manu refers to them as degraded people, and so does the *Harivaṃśa* which characterises them as having long hairs<sup>1</sup>. Their original home was in the Oxus valley as the passage quoted above shows<sup>2</sup>. The Pāratas mentioned in the list of the Western Division ( No. 13 ) are the same as the Pāradas.

## 29. AMBARAS

They may be connected with the Ambri who aided by their neighbours Sigambri opposed Alexander with an army of 80,000 foot and 60,000 cavalry. It has been suggested that Ambri must be the Malli<sup>3</sup>, and formed an important section of the Mālavas. In the list under review the Ambaras appear almost in conjunction with the Mālavas.

## 30. MADRAKAS

As noted before the Madras, claimed descent from an eponymous king Madraka, son of Śibi Auśinara, and were septs of the family of Śivi like the Kaikeyas<sup>4</sup>. They are also grouped with the Yaudheyas as a tribe of the same class : *Yaudheyāṇ mānavāṇ rājāṇ Madrakānāṇ gaṇāṇ yudhi*<sup>5</sup>. The Madra country was the chief centre of Vedic learning<sup>6</sup> : the epic struggle of the Madra princess with a cruel destiny immortalised the ancient Madras, and their cultural ideas. From the *Milinda-paṇḥo* we learn that King Milinda ( Menander ) a Graeco-Bactrian king, who became a convert to Buddhism, was ruling over the Madda country with Sāgala as his capital<sup>7</sup> which, according to a Buddhist lexicon, was one of the twenty ancient cities<sup>8</sup>.

The Brāhmaṇical name of the Madra capital was Śākala mentioned by Pāṇini as Sāṅkala in the *Sūtra* IV. 2. 75. In the *Mahābhārata* we read : *Tataḥ Śākalamabhyetya Madrāṇāṇputa bhedanam*<sup>9</sup>. Śākala or Sāgala has been rightly identified by Fleet with the modern Sialkot. The river Irāvati or Rāvi flowed through the eastern

<sup>1</sup> HV, I. 14. 17.      <sup>2</sup> CII. I. 25. Pargiter places the Pāradas in the North-West ( AIHT, p 268 ). Dr. D. C. Sircar writes that the Pāradas or Parthians lived in the Khorasan region ( IHQ. XXI. 303, fn ). For the Palldas of Asokan inscriptions, see CII. I. 25 ; PHAI, p. 259.      <sup>3</sup> MI, p. 324.

<sup>4</sup> Supra p. 91.      <sup>5</sup> Mbh (B), vii. 137. 25 ; Cf. ii. 50. 14.

<sup>6</sup> Śat. Br., iii. 7. 1 ; SBE, XV. 132. See H. C. Roy in JASB. XVIII, 1932, p. 258.      <sup>7</sup> SBE, XXXV. 6.      <sup>8</sup> See supra p. 41 fn. 11.

<sup>9</sup> Mbh., ii. 32. 14. Cf. KSSR. I, p. 406.

border of the Madra-desa<sup>1</sup>. So Madra embraced the central portion of the Punjab<sup>2</sup>, particularly the district around Sialkot<sup>3</sup> in the Doab between the Chenab and Ravi rivers, but it possibly comprised even a portion of the country between the Jhelum and the Chenab rivers, and thus abutted on Kaikeya on the west. Like the Kurus, the northern branch of the Madras was called Uttara Madras, who are plausibly connected with the Kambojas and other people of Iranian extraction<sup>4</sup>. Similarly Pāṇini mentions two divisions of the Madra country, *Pūrva* and *Apara-diśo* *Madraṇam*<sup>5</sup>. People bearing the tribal name Madra are known to have lived near about the Gorakhpur district<sup>6</sup>.

As one of the republication states existing on the western frontier of the Gupta empire the Madrakas are mentioned in the Pillar inscription of Allahabad. In the early part of the sixth century A. D. the Madra country passed under the rule of the Hūṇa conqueror Mihirakula (c. 515-535 A. D.) who ruled from Sialkot. The people continued to flourish as one of the powers of the Punjab, even upto the time of the Pala king Dharmapala in the 9th century A. D.

Epic traditions, however, indicate that the Punjab was the home of many other tribes besides the Madras. Thus the people living in the country watered by the river Sindhu and its tributaries, i. e., the Punjab are also designated as Vāhikas in the *Mahābhārata* and stigmatised as a filthy people :

*Pañcānām Sindhuṣaṣṭhānām nadīnām Ye'ntarāśritāḥ*  
.....*Vāhikān parivarjjayet.*<sup>7</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Mbh., viii. 44. 17. The Deeg a stream flowing through Sialkot district, locally called Dyokā, is referred to in the *Nilmata Purāṇa* as a river of the Madra country (B. C. Law, Geog. Essays, p. 92). It was also known to Pāṇini and according to Patañjali, *Śālī* rice grew on its bank (Agrawala in IHQ. XXIX. 11).

<sup>2</sup> EHI, p. 302.

<sup>3</sup> CH. 1. 549. <sup>4</sup> Alt. Brā; viii. 14. See N. L. De in IHQ. II. 131, who connects them with Media or 'Mad' and its division Azerbaijan which resolves into Airyana-vija (Aryan seed) from its Avestan name ĀryaveiJam.

<sup>5</sup> VII. 3. 13; IV. 2. 108. Cf. Madrakāra as a constituent element of the *Sālva-janapada* (Supra p. 95 fn 2). It has been pointed out that the name signifying warrior-troops of the Madras owed its origin to the eventful marriage of the Madra prince Sāvitrī, with the Sālva Prince Satyavān (IHQ. XXIX. 20).

<sup>6</sup> C II. III. 66.

<sup>7</sup> viii. 44. 7. In another passage the people of the Punjab seem to have been collectively called Āraṭṭas or Bāhikas (viii. 44. 40 & vi. 10). In the *Bārhaspatya Arthaśāstra*, Āraṭṭa is grouped with Bāhika, which is obviously a mistake for Bāhika (F. W. Thomas, op. cit. p. 21, *Sūtra* No. 100).

It is to be noted that in the *Kāmasūtra* of Vātsyāyana (3rd century A. D.) the people of '*Sindhuṣaṣṭhānāṁ ca nadīnāmantarālīyā*' are said to have been fond of filthy habit in sexual matters. In the *Jayamaṅgalā* Commentary of Yaśodhara, '*Sindhuṣaṣṭha*' is explained as the country of Vipāsā etc. i. e., the Punjab<sup>1</sup>. Evidently, the people meant by Vātsyāyana in his *Sūtra* No. 25 are the same as the Vāhikas of the *Mahābhārata*. Consequently when the Vāhikas are described in *Sūtra* No. 25, they were certainly not the same as the Vāhlikas, who are mentioned in the *Sūtras* immediately preceding (Nos. 22-24)<sup>2</sup> as possessing different characteristics<sup>3</sup>. The separate identity of the two names is not uniformly maintained in the *Mahābhārata* and sometimes the two are confused. Thus the passage of *Mahābhārata* that the Bāhlikas are the drege of the earth refer to the Vāhikas<sup>4</sup>.

But Śākala was also the old capital of a powerful tribe called Takkas, whose country was known to Hiuen Tsang as *Tse-Kia*, and Cunningham quotes Hemacandra to show that the Bāhikas were the same as the Takkas<sup>5</sup>. Śākala as a Vāhika-grāma is also mentioned by Patañjali.<sup>6</sup> Indeed, Vāhika, according to the notices made of it in the *Mahābhārata*, stood for the whole of the Punjab. The Vāhika-grāmas of Śākala and Pātanaprastha, as referred to in the grammatical works<sup>7</sup>, imply the inclusion of Madra-janapada in the Vāhika

<sup>1</sup> VKS, pp. 370-371. Cf. Mbh ; viii. 44. 32

*Chandrabhāgā Vitastā ca sindhu ṣaṣṭhā vahirginēḥ*  
*Āratīā nāma te deśā naṣṭa dharmān tān vrajet.*

<sup>2</sup> Ibid.

<sup>3</sup> This evidence is sufficiently clear and goes to show that the Vāhikas and the Vāhlikas were two different peoples. So when Yādavaprakāśa equates Vāhika with Vāhika he is not correct. His statement that Tarka included Vāhika (VJN, p. 37 v. 27) is endorsed by Hemacandra who equates Takka with Vāhika, and the latter is clearly distinguished from Vāhika, the alternative form of Vāhika (Abhidhāna, p. 382, 383). Vāhika and Bāhika is also distinguished by Rājasekhara (Kāvya, p. 8) who similarly refers to Takka and Vāhika separately (Kāvya, p. 51, 94). As Takka denoted the country round Sialkot which according to the evidence of the Sanskrit Epic was also known as Bāhika, the Takka-Bāhika country is not to be confused with Vāhika.

<sup>4</sup> V. 39. 80.

<sup>5</sup> OAGI, pp. 170-171.

<sup>6</sup> II. 294.

<sup>7</sup> Patañjal, II. 298 ; IC. VI. 128-36.

Pātanaprastha is the same as Patthan or Pathānkoṭ situated at the entrance of the Kāngrā valley.



country. The *janapada* of Uśinara and also Kekaya constituted the other two divisions of the far-flung Vāhika country<sup>1</sup>.

Like the Vāhikas, the Madras are represented as a despicable people in the later books of the *Mahābhārata* and are stigmatised as base, impure and contemptible<sup>2</sup>. "Amongst the Madrakas all acts of friendship are lost<sup>3</sup>." And so it is said : *Nāpi vairam na sauhārddam Madrakena samācaret*<sup>4</sup>. Even the *Rāmāyaṇa* records similar views<sup>5</sup>.

### 32. PAURAVAS

They were a famous people of the Vedic Age who lived on the banks of the Hydaspes, from which a section of them moved eastward<sup>6</sup>. Strabo says that the country of Poros which lay between Hydaspes and Akesines contained about 300 cities<sup>7</sup>. The Pauravas are also connected with the Porouaroi mentioned by Ptolemy<sup>8</sup>.

### 33. DANDAPIṄGALAKAS

This and the following few names may be treated as forming a group assignable to the Himalayan hill-states of the Punjab. The Kohalas (No. 36) are evidently the Kohils, a Kulu tribe who had given their name to the Kulu valley of the Kangra district. Kohil or Kolī (Kulu) as a territorial<sup>9</sup> name denotes the Kulu subdivision which comprises the *taluk*s of Kulu and Sarāj and the mid-Himālayan cantons of Lāhul and Spiti. The Māṇahalas (No. 34) were presumably another people allied to the Kohalas or Kolis, whose name survives in the Lāhul *taluk* of the Kulu valley. The Kulu valley is bounded on the south-west by the State of Maṇḍi, which lies in the upper reaches of the Beas. Maṇḍi is the same as Maṇḍamati of the *Yavadi-gaṇa* of Pāṇini<sup>10</sup>. The people of Maṇḍi are possibly referred to as Māṇḍavyas (No. 38) as the grouping

<sup>1</sup> Agrawala in *IHQ*. XXIX. 17. It may be noted that in the *Gopatha Brāhmaṇa* (II. 9) the Uśinaras are connected with the Śavāsas. Dr. Agrawala writes that the Śavāsas were the people of Cibha comprising Puncb, Rajauri, and Bhimbhar.

<sup>2</sup> Mbh ; viii. 40. 21 ff. <sup>3</sup> Mbh ; viii. 40. 28. <sup>4</sup> Mbh ; viii. 40. 28 and 41.

<sup>5</sup> VIII. 1531, RT. II. p. 120. For a paper on the Madras see H. C. Ray, in *JASB*. XVII. 1922, p. 257 and ff. For the Mālavas (No. 31), see S. B. Chaudhuri in *IHQ*. XXIV. 171 ff (Sept. 1948).

<sup>6</sup> Ved. Ind., II. 12. 95.

<sup>7</sup> MA, p. 55.

<sup>8</sup> MT, p. 164. of. Mbh (B) ; vi. 50. 48.

<sup>9</sup> Glossary, II. pp. 553 ff.

<sup>10</sup> VIII. 2. 9.

indicates. On the south, Maṇḍi adjoins Suket, which lies along the north bank of the Sutlej river, the river separating Suket from the Simla Hill States. Suket is written as Seokot in earlier records. The Satakas (No. 37) who form another section of this group in the list, plainly refer to Seokot by a slight transposition of one letter.

Having regard to the nature of entries, and the locality indicated by the names which occur after the Daṇḍapiṅgalakas, it is reasonable to assume, that the Daṇḍapiṅgalakas were closely allied to the people of the Kulu valley. But the Kulu valley was in a geographical position the same to which the name Kulūta was applied in ancient times. In the *Gaṇapāṭha*, the name occurs as Kuluna<sup>1</sup>, the chief city Nagara is included in the *Katṛyādi-gaṇa*<sup>2</sup>. The capitals of the country Nagar and Sultanpur were situated on the various tributaries of the Beas<sup>3</sup>. Numismatic evidence, namely, similarity of the symbols of coins show that they were the neighbours of the Kuṇindas<sup>4</sup>. All these indicate that the Kulūtas occupied the Kulu valley of the Kangra district. Hiuen Tsang's estimate that the size of *Kiu-lo-to* was 3000 li<sup>5</sup> suggests the application of the name to an extensive area stretching as far as the Upper Yamunā on the east, and the inclusion of the little principalities of Suket and Mandi<sup>6</sup>. The pilgrim further observed that the country was very near the snowy mountains, it had a great quantity of medicinal herbs : "Gold, silver, and copper are found here in fine drops (crystals) and native copper."<sup>7</sup>

### 39. BHŪTAPURA

Bhoṭa, as Lassen says on the authority of an inscription, was the name of Tibet<sup>8</sup>. A Jaina work refers to Bhoṭa-deśa indicating a

<sup>1</sup> Pāṇ, IV. 2. 133 ; IV. 3. 93.

<sup>2</sup> IV. 2. 95.

<sup>3</sup> OAGI, p. 163.

<sup>4</sup> Coins of the Kulūtas assigned to the first-second centuries A. D., bear the legend : *Rājña Kulūtasya Virayaśasya* (CH. I. 529 ; COAI, p. C. ; IHQ. XXVII. 206.

<sup>5</sup> YC, 1, p. 298.

<sup>6</sup> South Indian inscriptions refer to a Kulūta country in the south (EI. XVIII. 53, vs. 68-72), which seems to have been situated near about Veṅḡī and Utkala (EI. XXV. 244 and fn.).

<sup>7</sup> BR, I. p. 177. It is now known that great mineral wealth exists in Kulu. In the tract known as Wazirī Rūptī, veins of silver, copper and lead have been discovered and so also in the valley of the Upper Beas, where traces of a very pure white crystal have been met with (See IG. VII. 1886 Edn. pp. 337-38). For the MĀNAHALAS (No. 34) see supra p 118 ; HŪṆAS (No. 35) see S. B. Choudhuri in IHQ. XXVI. 118 ; KOHALAS (No. 36), ŚĀTAKAS (No. 37) and MĀṆḌAVYAS (No. 38) see above.

<sup>8</sup> EI. I. 124.

similar location<sup>1</sup>, and according to *Tārā-tantra*, the Bhota country extended from Kasmir to Kāmarūpa<sup>2</sup>. In an inscription of Lhāsa dated in 822 A. D., the native Tibetan name for the country has been given as 'Bod', which responds to *T'ufan* by which Tibet was called in the Chinese annals. A later name given to Tibet was *T'u-po't'e* which also represents Bod.<sup>3</sup> The word 'Bod' was corrupted by the Indian writers into Bhot, giving rise to the name Bhotiya or Bhuta, applied to the border tribes living between India and Tibet. Stein observes that the Bhauṭṭas of *Rāṭatarāṅgiṇī* refer to the 'population of Tibetan descent, generally inhabiting the regions immediately to the E. and NE. of Kasmir, i. e. the modern mountain districts of Drās, Ladākh, and perhaps also Skardo.'<sup>4</sup> From other notices it is ascertained that the Zoji-lā Pass on the high road to Drās and Ladākh was the 'ethnographic water-shed between Kasmir and the territory of the Bhauṭṭas'.<sup>5</sup>

#### 42. HEMATALAS

The western Himalayan range was variously designated by the classical writers as Emoda, Emodoi, and Hemodes all derived from the Sanskrit Haimavata, meaning 'snowy'<sup>6</sup>. Hematala is the same as Haimatala, and refers to those people who lived at the foot of the snowy mountains. The country of these people as told in the 'Life' was known to Hiuen Tsang as *Hi-mo-ta-lo* (Himatala) which he reached by travelling 300 li eastward from Mung Kien' (Tālikhan). This makes Himatala correspond to Tishkhan or Kilah Afghan in Badakshan. Tishkhan lies on the high road from Koondooz to Fyzabad, and is situated on the northern bank of the Kokeha river to the east of Tālikhan as recorded. It was thus situated at the foot of the Hindu Kush.<sup>7</sup> Indian tradition thus accords with Chinese evidence regarding the existence of a people whose ethnic or country name was derived from the physical features of a country nestling on the foot of the Hindu kush (Himalaya).

<sup>1</sup> IA. XI. 247. Ptolemy's Byatal is equated with Skt. Bhauṭṭa, Tibetan Bod, i. e. central Tibet (IHQ. XXIV. 214). <sup>2</sup> DD, p. 33.

<sup>3</sup> NHH, ch. III, pp. 17-18, ch. II, pp. 18-19.

<sup>4</sup> RT, p. 47, fn.

<sup>5</sup> For GANDHĀRAS (No. 40) see supra p. 91, fn 5, and YASOVATĪ (No. 41) see supra p. 103. <sup>6</sup> MA, p. 16, fn. 1 and p. 35, fn. 2.

<sup>7</sup> BH, p. 106 fn.

<sup>8</sup> YC. II, pp. 275-76 ; BR, I, p. 42, fn. 139 ; II, p. 290.

The pilgrim got the impression that the people were of violent and hasty disposition and lacked the sense of righteousness and virtue. Their bearing and appearance contained hardly any noble trait: in the opinion of the traveller, their dress, manners and customs all resembled those of the Turks. He says that the people wore clothes of wool and skin and lived in tents made of felt, leading practically a nomadic life. A peculiar custom among them was, that their wives used to wear upon their head-dress a wooden horn about three feet or so in length<sup>1</sup>.

#### 46 YAUDHEYAS

They were a famous *gaṇa* community and were connected with many other well-known tribes of the Punjab<sup>2</sup>. The coin moulds of the Yaudheyas, assigned to the second century B. C with the legend *Yaudheyānāṃ Bahudhāñyake* connect them with Rohtak,<sup>3</sup> and they along with the Āgreyas and Śibis and their early associates the Ārjunāyanas seem to have lived in one compact area in the eastern Punjab. The suggestion that the Yaudheys were a confederate tribe of three republics, the other constituent parts being the Ārjunāyanas and the Kuṇindas, is not supported by adequate evidence<sup>4</sup>. But it cannot be ignored that the Yaudheyas are frequently noticed in close association with one or more tribes in coins.

Sometime later, the Yaudheyas, or a branch of them, seem to have moved to Rajputana where they ruled as a political power, as is indicated in the inscription of Rudradāman. In the third century A. D. they also lived in the Bharatpur state. The reference to them in the Allahabad inscription along with their early associates, presumably points to the same locality, but during the same period, i. e. in the third and the early fourth century A. D., they also lived in the Kangra valley<sup>5</sup> as close associates of the Kuṇindas. The striking similarities in the motifs of the coins of the two tribes indicate an integrated organisation of the two communities, which might have even led to the absorption of the Kuṇindas in the organisation of the more powerful Yaudheyas<sup>6</sup>. The evidence

<sup>1</sup> BR, II, p. 290. For the RĀJANYAS (No. 43) See Supra p 94 fn 3. The KHACARAS (No. 44) and the GAVYAS (No. 45) cannot be identified.

<sup>2</sup> See Supra pp. 93-94. <sup>3</sup> IHQ, XXVII. 201. <sup>4</sup> NHIP, VI, 32, <sup>5</sup> IHQ, XXVII. 208-209. <sup>6</sup> Ibid. pp. 206-208.

of the post-kushāṇa coins indicates that after the overthrow of the Kushāṇas, the Yaudheyas were ruling as an independent power over the entire country extending from the Sutlej to the Yamunā<sup>1</sup> and particularly in the chakrata *tahsil* of the Dehra-Dun district.<sup>2</sup>

#### 58 & 59. SINDHU-SAUVĪRA

The two names are combined in a single appellation in the *Mahābhārata*<sup>3</sup>. In another passage<sup>4</sup> Jayadratha is described as the king of both Sindhu and Sauvira : *Sauvīrān saha Sindhuviḥ* (v. 12), and there may not be many passages in the epic which tend to show a division. The two names forming an identical pair appear much in the same way in other texts too,<sup>5</sup> and also in the inscription of Rudradāman. The joint application of the two names comprehended the whole of modern Sind, including a portion of the coastal regions of South Rajputana, the latter country 'at the head of the gulf of Khambay' being equivalent to Sauvira in particular<sup>6</sup>. In the time of the author of the *Periplus* (c. 80 A. D.), the capital of this region (scythia), i. e. of lower Sind was Minnagara identified with Thatha, and its chief trading post was Barbaricum<sup>7</sup>.

But Sindhu-Sauvīra when distinguished, as is found in our text and also in the aphorisms of Pāṇini<sup>8</sup>, in the *Arthasāstra*<sup>9</sup>, *Harṣa-carita*<sup>10</sup>

<sup>1</sup> NHIP, VI. 29, 142. <sup>2</sup> Journal of the Numismatic Society of India, Vol. II, 1940, pp. 109-110. The DĀSAMEYAS (No. 47) seem to have been a Punjab tribe (MP, p. 380), the ŚYĀMĀKAS (No. 48) were the people of Sogdiana. The KṢEMADHŪRTAS (No. 49) were a fabulous people. For the BĀLHĪKAS (No. 50) see supra pp. 108 ff., and ĀBHĪRAS (No. 51) see supra pp. 45-46. A place called Kālodaka (No. 52) is mentioned in the *Mahābhārata* (xiii. 25. 60). For the APARĀNTAS (No. 53) supra pp. 55-56; ŚŪDRAS (No. 54) see supra p. 46; PAHLAVAS (No. 55) see supra p. 114; CARMĀKHAṆḌIKAS (No. 56) see supra p. 108; YAVANAS (No. 57) see the author's article in IHQ. XXVI. 118ff.

<sup>3</sup> v. 19. 9; vi. 51. 4. Cf. *Bhīṣma Parva* list vi. 9. 51 ff; viii. 40. 41.

<sup>4</sup> iii. 266. 8. <sup>5</sup> SBE, XIV. 148. A Jaina tradition of a very remote period even refers to Vibhayaṃ as the capital of Sindhu-Sovirā (IA. XX. 375). <sup>6</sup> Rapson, *Ancient India*, p. 168; CAGI, pp. 569-71. Cf. *Bhāgavata Purāṇa* (i. 10. 35, iii. 1. 21 ff.) which places Sauvira contiguous to Ānarta and Saurāṣṭra.

<sup>7</sup> CAGI, pp. 330ff.

<sup>8</sup> IV. 3. 93 and IV. 2. 76.

<sup>9</sup> AS, p. 40. In the *Bārhaspatya Arthasāstra* also Sindhu and Sauvira countries are separately mentioned (F. W. Thomas, op. cit. p. 21 *Sūtra* Nos. 103 & 104). In the *Arthasāstra* the reference is to Sauvira only. <sup>10</sup> Op. cit. p. 101 & 194.

and *Kathā-S-Sāgara*<sup>1</sup>, carried a different geographical meaning. The Sauvīras were an ancient people<sup>2</sup> but in the Vedic *Sūtra* texts, they are referred to as an impure people<sup>3</sup>. The Buddhist texts mention Rorūva (modern Rori in Upper Sind) as the capital of Sauvīra<sup>4</sup>, and in one text, the Sauvīra country is stated to have been one of the seven political divisions of India<sup>5</sup>. Mention is also made of the Sauvīra city of Dāttāmitri<sup>6</sup>, presumably named after Demetrios or Dāttāmitra of the *Mahābhārata*<sup>7</sup>. Modern Sukkur in Sind on the Indus, opposite Rori, is mentioned by Pāṇini as Śarkarā, a city of the Sauvīras<sup>8</sup>. Notices given of the Sibaræ by Pliny show that the people lived near about the confluence of the Indus with other rivers of the Punjab<sup>9</sup>. Alberuni clearly states that Sauvīra corresponded to Multan and Jahraṇvār to the east of the Indus<sup>10</sup>. These indications referring to upper Sind as the Sauvīra country possibly furnished the basis for the grouping Sindhu-Sauvīra,<sup>11</sup> but it was obviously different from Sovīra of *Milinda-panḥo*<sup>12</sup> which stood for a littoral portion of Sind-Rajputana<sup>13</sup>.

Sindhu as a *janapada*, possibly stood for the Sind-Sāgar Doab, the region between the Jhelum and the Indus, but the wider application of the name related to the lower valley of the Indus i. e. modern Sind which had a homogenous geographical unity. But Hiuen Tsang's description of the kingdom of *Sin-tu* (Sindhu), and of its capital which is taken to be another name for modern Alor<sup>14</sup>, the chief city of Upper Sind, along with his mention of *A-tien-p'o-chih-lo*, *Pi-to-shih-lo* and *A-fan tu*<sup>15</sup> which embraced considerable portions of modern Sind but distinguished from *Sin-tu*, shows that the geographical application of the term Sind in the days of Hiuen Tsang, was restricted to the upper portion of the country. Other incidental notices in the pilgrim's account indicate that *Mou-lo-san-pu-lu*

<sup>1</sup> In the *Kathā-S-Sāgara* (KS>B, I, p. 151, ll. p. 586, mention is made only of Sindhu, and so also in the *Kāmasūtra* a work of the 3rd century A. D. (VKS, p. 308).

<sup>2</sup> Cf. Pan. IV. 1. 148 and the Jaina

*Upāṅga* (supra p. 30, fn 2).

<sup>3</sup> ABORI, XXIX. 142.

<sup>4</sup> Cf. Jātaka No. 424, OJ, III p. 280.

<sup>5</sup> Supra p. 49, fn. 10.

<sup>6</sup> PHAI, p. 319.

<sup>7</sup> DD, p. 183.

<sup>8</sup> IHQ. XXIX. 15 and 31.

<sup>9</sup> MM. p. 153.

<sup>10</sup> AI, I. 300; PHAI, pp. 524-26.

<sup>11</sup> DD, p. 183.

<sup>12</sup> SBE, XXXVI. 269.

<sup>13</sup> The lexicographers

Hemacandra and Yādavaprakāśa identify Sauvīra with Kumālake (Abhidhāna, p. 383; VJN, p. 37, v. 28. Cf. also *Haimakoṣa* quoted by Dr. B. O. Law in TAI, p. 345), but the latter country is not mentioned in ordinary Indian literature.

<sup>14</sup> YC, II, pp. 252-53.

<sup>15</sup> Ibid. 258-61.

(Multan and Sauvira <sup>2</sup>), which he reached proceeding eastward from *Sin-tu* (Sind) and crossing the Sindhu river<sup>1</sup>, was on the east side of the Indus, and consequently Sindhu was to its west. Dr. H. C. Roy Chaudhuri quotes the commentator of *Kāmasūtra* of Vātsyāyana to prove this location<sup>2</sup>. Cunningham, however, gives convincing reason to believe that Sehwan a place of great antiquity to the west of the Indus in Central Sind, was called Saindhavasthāna or Sindhsthan, which points to the Sanskrit name of the country. The Greek name Sindomana, obviously refers to some such word meaning the abode of Saindhavas<sup>3</sup>. Middle-Sind or Hiuen Tsang's Ofancha<sup>4</sup> presumably represented Sindhu-deśa though Hiuen Tsang employs a different name, whose Sanskrit equivalent Avanda, cannot be traced either to Aparānta or Avanti. The truth is that the whole of the modern Sind was not outside the former geographical limits of Sindhu-deśa; it was perhaps equivalent to it: Hiuen Tsang simply does not represent the traditional standpoint of ancient Indian geography.

## 60 ŚATADRUHAS

This refers to the *She-to-t'u lu* or Śatadru of Hiuen Tsang<sup>5</sup>, the position of which is fixed by the recorded distance of 700 li between Kulūta and *She-to-t'u-lu* on the one hand, and the estimated distance of 1800 li between the latter and Bairat on the other<sup>6</sup>. This points to the famous old city of Sirhind<sup>7</sup> as the capital of the Satadruha country, which was bounded on the west and north by the river Sutlej. The people of Sirhind are the Sairindhas of our text.

## 61. KULINDAS

They are mentioned in the *Mahābhārata* mostly in association with other Himalayan tribes. Of a Kulinda prince it is said that he lives

<sup>1</sup> BR, II, p. 274.

<sup>2</sup> Although the statement of the Commentator is clear (PHAI, p. 524) it is difficult to accept the position that Sindhu was confined merely to the west side of the Indus and that we cannot regard this name as covering the valley to the east. Such assertions refer to the political condition of a particular age. For instance, in *Kosmas Indikopleustes* (MA, p. 161) it is written that Sindhu is the frontier country of India for the river Indus separates Persia from India. Here Sindhu is confined to the eastern side of the river.

<sup>3</sup> CAGI, pp. 304-306

<sup>4</sup> Ibid. 301.

<sup>5</sup> BH, p. 77.

<sup>6</sup> Supra p. 32.

<sup>7</sup> CAGI, pp. 165 ff.; YC, I p. 299.

constantly in mountains (*Pravataṭvāsanyāḥ*)<sup>1</sup>. The ethnic name may have been obtained from the river Kālindī or the Yamuna. The people settled on upper reaches in the region of the lofty mountains where the river takes its rise. This was the country of the Kylindrine of Ptolemy<sup>2</sup>, and is not to be confused with the people of Kulu valley<sup>3</sup> who are separately mentioned. To this people is attributed the coins which bear the legend *Kuṇindasa* which is a good transcript of Kuṇinda. These coins which can be dated to a period about the end of the first century B. C. when the Kuṇindas were apparently living under a monarchical organisation<sup>4</sup>, constitute the earliest reference to their settlement. No doubt Kuṇinda<sup>5</sup> is a mere variant of Kulinda, for numismatic evidence shows that the 'narrow strip of land at the foot of the Siwalik hills<sup>6</sup> between the Jumna and the Sutlej, and the territory between the upper courses of the Beas and Sutlej<sup>7</sup> was the home of the people. But the tribe possibly extended further east as far as Nepal along the southern slopes of the Himalayas and occupied the Almora Hills<sup>8</sup>. To one such branch of the people is to be attributed the coins found in the Almora District<sup>9</sup>. The *Mahābhārata* knows a branch of them called Aparā Kulinda<sup>10</sup>, and even refers to "all the countries of Kulinda".

The Kuṇindas like the Yaudheyas submitted to the rule of the Kushāṇas and regained their independence by overthrowing the Kushāṇa power. It is highly probable that sometime before the rise of the Guptas, the Kuṇindas merged into the larger body of the Yaudheyas<sup>11</sup>.

An important notice relating to the Kulindas deserves attention. In a remarkable passage of the Great Epic we have a reference to the lumps of *Paipīlika* gold sent by the northern tribes to King Yudhisṭhira. The tribes so mentioned are stated to have lived on

1 Mbh., iii. 264. 8.

2 MT, p. 110.

3 MP, p. 316.

Cunningham says that they are the modern Kunets of the Kulu valley.

4 CCAI, p. CI. Smith Catalogue of the coins in the Indian Museum, p. 161. Cf *Rājāṇa Kuṇindasa Amoghabhūṭsa* (P. Gupta in IHQ. XXVII. 204).

5 In our list of the NE. Division which is a mistake for the North, mention is made of the Kaṇindas (No. 18), which is a variant of the Kuṇindas, and so refer to the Kulindas. The Kulindas of Ptolemy and literature are found to be in the same country as the Kuṇindas of coins.

6 Its ancient name was Sapādalekṣa (IA. X. 334, v. 11). It was corrupted into *Prākṛit Savalikha* and thence into Sivalika or Siwalik.

7 CCAI, p. CIII.

8 MP, p. 316.

9 OH. I. 529

10 II. 25. 4.

11 NHIP, VI. 31.



both sides of of the river Śailodā<sup>1</sup>, and among them mention is made of the Kulindas and other Himalayan tribes :

*Khaśā Ekāsanā 'yarhāḥ pradārā Dīrghaveṇabāḥ*

*Pāradāśca Kulindāśca Tairiganāḥ Paratairiganāḥ*

*Tadvai pipīlikam nāma uddhṛtaṁ yat pipīlikaiḥ.*<sup>2</sup>

Here is perhaps an allusion to the burrows of the miners in the the Tibetan gold-fields. Prof. Schiørn writes that the gold-digging ants of antiquity are no other than the Tibetan miners<sup>3</sup>. Local circumstances, namely the piercing cold for which the miners are usually dressed in furs, the physical features of the Tibetans which resemble 'incredibly to apes', and their extraordinary habits, gave rise to the notion that they were animals<sup>4</sup>. The subterranean dwellings of the diggers of gold, whose tents are always pitched in "pits some seven or eight feet below the surface of the ground so as to keep out of the wind", added to the active habits of miners, and suggested the idea of ants in particular.

Tibet bore the characteristic name Sarthol or 'gold country,' 'Sar', being the Tibetan name for gold. All available information regarding the features of the gold-digging fields correspond to the lofty plateau of Tibet which contained rich gold mines, the most important of which were the gold-fields of Nari-Khorsum<sup>5</sup>. Nari-Khorsum is a district of Tibet

<sup>1</sup> Epic accounts connect the river with Uttara Kuru and Meru (DD, p. 172). According to the *Matsya Purāṇa*, the river Śailodakā rises at Mt. Aruṇa which is west-Kailāśa (MP, p. 351). L. Petech writes on the authority of Herrmann that the tale of the gold-digging ants of Asia, as mentioned by Herodotos and later Greek travellers Nearchus and Megasthenes, was based on the knowledge of gold-washings in Ladakh and Baltistan (IHQ XXIV, 213). Cf. also S. Chattopadhyaya who says that the gold producing desert of India is a myth (IHQ. XXVI, 25, 114).

<sup>2</sup> ii. 52. 3-4. Cf. vs. 13-14.

<sup>3</sup> IA. IV, 225 ff.

<sup>4</sup> It has been noticed that the dogs of Tibet (IA. IV. 225) are very big in size and had formidable strength. It is quite conceivable that these giant dogs of Tibet should be confounded with their masters. In Chinese books, description is given of the kingdom of dogs where men have the bodies of dogs (E. Schuyler, *Turkistan*, Vol. I, p. 409). But the Tibetans were living very close to India, and so names dwelling upon physical ugliness such as *Aśvamukhas* (No. 18), *Śvamukhas* (No. 19), *Dīrghakeśas* (No. 20), *Oṣṭhanāsikas* (No. 21) which occur in this division may contain a reference to them.

<sup>5</sup> In Nari-Khorsum the most important field was Thok-Jolung. Many other gold-fields have been noticed (IA. IV. 228).

which lies to the north of Kumaon and Garhwal in the trans-Himalayan region of the Sutlej<sup>1</sup>. This apparently was the country meant by Hiuen Tsang in his *Su-fa-la-na-Kiu-ta-lo* or Suvarṇagotra. He placed the country on the frontier of Brahmapura, and the boundaries indicated were the Fan Kingdom, i. e., *Tu-fan* (Tibet) on the east and the kingdom of Khotan (*Yu-tien*) on the north. It is expressly stated: "From this country comes a superior sort of gold, and hence the name"<sup>2</sup>. The gold-country of Hiuen-Tsang existing to the west of Tibet was evidently the Nari Khorsum Province of Tibet<sup>3</sup>. The same country may have been intended in the mention of Suvarṇabhūmi which occurs in our list of the North-Eastern Division (No. 28), which is a mistake for the 'North' as already explained<sup>4</sup>. Two names immediately following Suvarṇabhūmi in that list, namely, Vasuvana (No. 29) and Devasthala (No. 30) are likely to go together. Their position cannot be satisfactorily determined, but the indications are that they refer to some half mythical region of western Tibet which was a '*terra incognita*' of Ancient Indian Geography

It is, however, clear from the discussion made above that the Kulindas of the *Mahābhārata* were one of the miners of the gold fields of Tibet.

<sup>1</sup> Atkinson writes (NHH, Ch. III, p. 16), "Nari is celebrated for its mines of gold and is bounded on the north by Khotan and on the east by Tibet proper".

<sup>2</sup> BR, I, p. 199.

<sup>3</sup> But Hiuen Tsang says that *Su-fa-la-na-kiu ta lo* was also the same as the country of the "eastern women". For ages a woman has been the ruler and so it is called the kingdom of the women (Ibid). Other Chinese writers also corroborated the statement of Hiuen Tsang. It is stated that there was a tribe in Eastern Tibet known as the *Nu-wang* because they were ruled by a woman. They were also known as *Tung-Nu* or Eastern NU in Tang history to distinguish them from a similar tribe in the west (NHH, ch. III, pp 16-17). The hairy-horned Kaṅkas who according to the *Mahābhārata* brought presents to Yudhiṣṭhira (supra p 53) were the people of eastern Tibet (IA. IV. 231). They are referred to in the *Vīṇu Purāṇa* as possessing the Kingdom of women. A *Strī-rājya* is also mentioned by Vatsyāyana (VKS, pp. 308, 371, 385) and is referred to in the *Rājatarāṅginī* (IV. 173, RT, p. 138). Indian traditions regarding an Amazonian kingdom receive support from Hiuen Tsang's account.

<sup>4</sup> This place may have been meant by Kauṭilya, when he refers to *Svarṇa-bhūmi* as a country, where a variety of Tailaparnika (AS. p. 80) were found. It will be erroneous to connect it with Suvarṇabhūmi or Burma (IC I. 250-61).

The Khasas were another people of this region who traded in gold dust with the ancient miners of Thok-Jalung in Tibet. But the name Khasa is of far too wide significance to be that of a single tribe. In many passages of the *Mahābhārata* they are generally mentioned as a half-civilized tribe living outside India. In the *Harivaṃśa* they are described as Mlecchas, and in the work of Manu they are referred to as a fallen warrior class.<sup>1</sup> Pliny refers to the Cesi and Cetriboni who were hill tribes and lived between the Indus and the Iomanes. If the Cesi of Pliny were the Khasas,<sup>2</sup> they are to be assigned to a country far to the west of Tibet. Ptolemy's Kasia, may be connected with Kāshgar,<sup>3</sup> and the outcome of other enquiries go to prove the association of this tribe with a wider region. The people may have left their name in Kāshgar, Kashkāra, the Hindu Kush, Kashmir and extended in the hills from Kashmir to Nepal.<sup>4</sup>

With Kashmir they were closely associated in the early period forming the principal inhabitants of that country, and lived in the region "comprising the valleys lying immediately to the south and west of Pīr Pāntāl range, between the middle course of the Vitastā on the west and Kāṣṭhavāṭa on the east". But many other parts of Kashmir, such as the valley of Candrabhāga and Vitastā, Khasālaya and Rājapuri, bear traces of the settlement of these people.<sup>5</sup> It is also believed that the Khasas are of the same race with the Khasiyas of Kumaon and possess some sort of national existence there.<sup>6</sup> In an inscription we have reference to the Khasa country of Sapādalakṣa hills.<sup>7</sup>

The name Khasas occur as a people of the North-East in our text (No. 23) immediately after the Kunahas (No. 22.) The Kunaha country was obviously the Kunāor or the modern Kunwar valley of the Sutlej, just on the border-land of India, to the north-west of Garhwal and east of the Kulu valley. The proximity of Kunawar to the Nari Khorsum Province, which was the home of the gold-diggers like the Khasas, helps to establish the identity of the Kunahas with the people of Kunawar. Two other names immediately following

<sup>1</sup> X. 43. 44. Cf. *Śukranīti*, Ch. IV, Sect V, line 98

<sup>2</sup> MM, p. 145-46. Cetriboni has been interpreted to be a transcript of Kītrivani as meaning a branch of the Kshatri. In the *śloka* quoted above we have reference to the Dīrghavenabās which sounds similar to the Greek name.

<sup>3</sup> MT, pp. 303 and 304. <sup>4</sup> NHH, Ch. II, pp. 28-29 ; RT, I, p. 47 fn.

<sup>5</sup> RT, I, p. 47 and p. 48, fn. <sup>6</sup> NHH, op. cit. <sup>7</sup> EI. XII. 30.

the Khaśas i. e. the Ghosās (No. 24) and Kucikas (No. 25), are similarly to be assigned to the adjoining regions between Nari Khorsum and Indian borderland. The next name is Ekacaranas (No. 26). They are identified with a hill-tribe akin to the Kirātas and are now found only in Nepal<sup>1</sup>. This satisfies the conditions generally and so the Anuviśvas (No. 27), the next name, are also connected with that region.

The passage cited above makes the Taṅganas and the Parataṅganas (evidently a branch of the Taṅganas) neighbours of the Khaśas. In the *Bhīṣma Prava* list, the Taṅganas and their kinsmen the Parataṅganas are closely associated together<sup>2</sup>. Pargiter says that they were intermixed with other mountain tribes, and inhabited a country in the middle portion of the Himalayas. They are described as expert in slinging stones<sup>3</sup>; the foregoing observations suggest that they were carriers or distributors of gold from Tibet to India. They are also regarded as the same as the Ganganoi, of Ptolemy<sup>4</sup>. Another writer says that the Taṅganoi, a branch of the Kirātas, held the entire hilly country from the Jumna to the Sarda. A city called Taṅganapura is known to have existed on the upper course of the Ganges in the Doab between the Bhagīratī and the Alakandā, but later on the people moved southward to Nepal<sup>5</sup>.

But tribal settlements on the northern frontiers of India were numerous. Thus Alberuni writes: "In the mountains which form the frontier of India towards the west there are tribes of the Hindus, or people very akin to them—rebellious savage races—which extend as far as the farther-most frontier of the Hindu race"<sup>6</sup>. The *Mahābhārata* similarly gives a list of hill tribes who were fierce, ferocious and powerful:

*Ugrāśca Bhīmakarmmāṇastuśūrā yavanāḥ Khaśāḥ*  
*Dārvābhisārā Daradāḥ Śakū Ramathataṅganāḥ*  
*Āndhrakāśca Pulindāśca Kirātāścogravikramāḥ*  
*Mlechhāśca Pārvatīyāśca.....*<sup>7</sup>

Some of these tribes have been discussed. The Dārvas are usually combined in a single appellation with the Abhisāras. The Dārvas and Abhisāras formed an identical pair, but Arrian refers only

1 NHH, Ch. II, p. 12, fn. 1. In the passage cited above mention is made of the Ekāsanas after the Khaśas. The Ekāsanas were a mistake for the Ekacaranas of our list.

2 vi. 9.64.

3 MP, p. 323.

4 MT, p. 210.

5 NHH, Ch. III, pp. 6-7.

6 AI, I. 199.

7 viii. 73. 19-20.

to the Abissareans who lived in a hilly country, which corresponded to the mountain-girt valley now called Hazara<sup>1</sup>. The two tribes appear frequently in the *Rājatarāṅgiṇī* and the geographical indications contained therein bear out, that the whole tract of the lower and middle hills lying between the Vitastā and the Candrabhāgā was occupied by them. Other notices in the *Rājatarāṅgiṇī* indicate that the hill-states of Rājapurī ( Rajauri ) were included in Dārvābhisāra<sup>2</sup> country. The people had no reputation for good conduct during the time of Kalhaṇa<sup>3</sup>.

The Daradas are mentioned as a people of the North ( No. 69 ) and also of the North-East ( No. 7 ). L. Petech is of opinion that the Dadikai people, mentioned along with the Gandarioi by Herodotos in the list of Persian Satrapies, refers to the Dards, whose connection with Ladakh from the earliest times remains fairly well-established though the Purāṇic application of the name may not have extended as far as Ladakh<sup>4</sup>. These people, who were *Mlecchas* according to Manu, lived in Dardistan, the Daradrai of Ptolemy, where the mountains were of "surpassing height"<sup>5</sup>. Stein writes that their seats "extended from Citral and Yasin across the Indus regions of Gilgit, and Bunji to the Kiṣāṅgā valley in the immediate north of Kashmir"<sup>6</sup>. The Dārdu country of *Ain-i-Akbari* refers to the very same region<sup>7</sup>.

The next people the Śakas are not mentioned in our text but the Rāmaṭhas are mentioned as a people of the North ( No. 64 ). The name Rāmaṭha also occurs in the *Mahābhārata*<sup>8</sup> where it is conjoined with the Hāra-Hūṇa<sup>9</sup>. The position of Rāmaṭha country is uncertain, but the people are mostly grouped with the mountain tribes of the North such as the Taṅganas and the Hāra-Hūṇas. The location of the Taṅganas has been indicated. The Hāra-Hūṇas are mentioned as a people of the North ( No. 63 ) in our text. The name implies that they were a branch of the Hūṇas, who in the North might have lived in Hundes in the Nari Khorsum Province. But the Hāra Hūṇas are also mentioned along with the Cīnas and Tuṣāras<sup>10</sup>. 'From these allusions it follows, that the

<sup>1</sup> MM, p. 196 ; MI, p. 69, fn. 3.

<sup>2</sup> RT, I, p. 32, fn.

<sup>3</sup> III. 100, RT, I, p. 81.

<sup>4</sup> IHQ. XXIV. 213-15, fn. 6.

<sup>5</sup> MT, p. 105.

<sup>6</sup> RT, I, p. 43.

<sup>7</sup> AIA, II, p. 365.

<sup>8</sup> II. 32.11.

<sup>9</sup> vi. 9. 66. The Ramanas of the *Bhīṣma-Parva* list may be the same as Rhamnai of Ptolemy (MT, p. 159). According to an author the Rum-galis or Lum-galis who border on Laghman and Kabul represent the Ramanas (Atkinson, op. cit. NHH, Ch. II, p. 87). For Ramana, Rāmanīya and Armenia, see N. L. DE in IHQ. II. 35 & 527.

<sup>10</sup> Mbh., iii. 51. 25.

Rāmāthas and the Hgra-Hūṇas, were mainly a northern or north-western race.

The reference to the Andhrakas and Pulindas in the *śloka* cited above as tribes of the far north, cannot be explained, but the 'fierce and powerful Kirātas' were known to tradition as a people of the North (No. 84). The Kirātas<sup>1</sup> were the most anciently known<sup>2</sup> of the aboriginal races and were distributed over different localities. It is highly probable that as a hill tribe they originally stood for a particular people, but later on the meaning of 'Kirāta' expanded so as to signify any hill tribe. Ptolemy's description of the country of Airhadoi, which meant Kirāta, refers to a very wide range of the settlement of these people<sup>3</sup>. According to Napalese usage the country between the Dudh-Kosi and the Arun in Nepal was known as the Kirāta country<sup>4</sup>. A passage of the *Mahābhārata* refers to their settlement in the Himalayas : *Himāvaddurga nilayāḥ Kirātā*<sup>5</sup>. They were spread along the southern side of the Himalayas, for Arjuna encountered them in his northern expedition<sup>6</sup>. In the account of Dionysiaka, mention is made of the Cirradioi (Kirāta) who were used to naval warfare, but in boats of skins and it is said that they were ranged near the Arsanians<sup>7</sup>. The Arsanians are the same as the people Uraśā, which was the ancient name of the Hazara district. An epigraph points to a Kirāta settlement in the neighbourhood of the Vindhyas<sup>8</sup>. In a stone railing at Sāñchi a short notice runs thus : *Cirātiya bhicchunodānam*<sup>9</sup>.

They were clad in skins and lived on fruit and roots and were cruel<sup>10</sup>. Their women were used as slaves, and in the *Rāmāyaṇa* they are described as wearing thick topknots. But the people, or a branch of them, might have settled down as an organised community

1 The Prākṛit form as given in an inscription is Chilāta (EI. XX. 22).

2 *Atharvaveda*, x. 4. 14.

3 MT. pp. 191-94 & p. 219. For

Kirātas of the east see James Long in JASB. XIX, 1850, pp. 536-37; HAIB, p. 35; Śrīrājmaḷā, (*Prathama-lahara*) by Kali Prasanna Sen (Agartala, 1336 *Tripurābda*), Intro; pp. 2 ff.

4 Sylvain Levi, *Le Nepal*, II, pp. 72-8, DHNI, I. p. 188; MP, p. 322; NHH, Ch II. pp. 13 ff.

5 vii. 4. 7.

6 Mbh.; *Sabhā*, ch. 26. In the *Mahābhārata* "all the Kirātas" are spoken of; their chief territory was among the mountains of Kailāsa, Mandara and Haima, corresponding to the region around Lake Mānasa (MP, p. 322).

7 MA, p. 199.

8 EI. V. 170.

9 *Lekhamālānukramanī*,

*Prathama khaṇḍa*, by R. D. Banerjee, No. 210, p. 99.

10 Mbh; II. 52. 8.

in the mediaeval period, for an inscription refers to a Kirāta King<sup>1</sup>.

The Mlecchas are mentioned in many ancient texts, usually as a general designation of a host of Punjab and non-Punjab tribes<sup>2</sup>. An ancient tradition even regards the Andhras, Pulindas and Sabaras as dog-eaters or Mlecchas<sup>3</sup>. The Jaina *Prajñāpanā* similarly records two divisions of the peoples of India ; *Milikkha* and *Āriya*, and enumerates 53 peoples in the former group, some of which are the following : Saga, Javaṇa, Sabara, Vavvara, Maruṇḍo'dḍa, Hoṇa, Romaya, Pārasa, Khasa, Chīṇa-Chaṇchuya, Mālava, Damilā (Draviḍa) etc<sup>4</sup>.

In the *Manu-saṁhitā*, the name Mleccha is employed to denote all the fallen members of the Aryan stock. The reference to the Mlecchas in other earlier texts generally denotes the Kirātas, Cinas and other mountain tribes, and was applied without any distinction to all trans-Indus casteless races ; the *Mahābhārata* stated that the Mlecchas dwelt in the Yavaṇa, Cina and Kamboja countries<sup>5</sup>. In the 'Life' of Hiuen Tsang, all places to the north of Lamgham district have been described as *Mi-li-ku* i. e. frontier or Mleccha lands<sup>6</sup>.

In many texts, however, the name was used to denote a particular tribe<sup>7</sup>. The *Rājataraṅgiṇī* states that the Mlecchas issued forth from the valleys adjoining the Himalayas<sup>8</sup>. Kauṭilya refers to Dvādaśagrāma which, according to the commentary, was situated in the Himalayas and inhabited by the Mlecchas<sup>9</sup>. Some passages in the *Mahābhārata* indicate that the coastal regions were the favourite resort of the Mlecchas : *Sāgarakuṣiṣṭhān Mlecchān parama dāruṇān*<sup>10</sup>. In the *Kathā-S-Sāgara* they are connected with Sind<sup>11</sup>.

In the mediaeval inscriptions, the name Mleccha was applied without any distinction to all foreigners. The Mlecchas of the Junagadh inscription may refer to the Hūṇas<sup>12</sup>, the Mleccha army

<sup>1</sup> EI. XVIII. 112, vs. 8-11. For further details about the Kirātas, see Lassen's. Indisches Alterthum, vol. III, pp. 235-37. <sup>2</sup> The *Śatapatha*

*Brāhmaṇa* (iii. 2. 1. 24) refers to Mleccha in the sense of a barbarian in speech.

<sup>3</sup> AIHT, p. 235.

<sup>4</sup> IA. XX. 374. For a full list of the Mleccha people of the Jaina texts, see DKDI, p. 227. The *Mahābhārata* (vi. 9. 66-67) furnishes a list of the Mleccha tribes of the far north including the Ramanas and Daśamālikas. <sup>5</sup> vi. 9. 65. <sup>6</sup> BH, p. 57. <sup>7</sup> Rām., iv. 43. 11.

<sup>8</sup> VIII, 2762-64, RT, II, p. 217. Cf. HV, II, 57.20 : *Mlecchāhaimavatāstathā*.

<sup>9</sup> AS, p. 80, fn. 10.

<sup>10</sup> ii. 32. 16 ; ii. 34. 10. A Cedi king is said to have collected an army of the Mlecchas and Bhills (DHNI, II, p. 951).

<sup>11</sup> KSSR, I, p. 151.

<sup>12</sup> PHA1, p. 488.

of the Gwalier Prasasti of Bhoja meant the Arabs<sup>1</sup>, and the Mlecchas of the Plates of Rāmacandra (Śaka 1232)<sup>2</sup> and the Maṭaṅgas (Mlecchas) of another inscription<sup>3</sup> refer to the Muhammadans in general<sup>4</sup>. The *Valacha Mlecchhas* of another inscription<sup>5</sup> point to the people of Baluchistan.

The Mlecchas were impure, for the *Mahābhārata* states that they were of bovine extraction<sup>6</sup>. They were fierce and cruel (*Mlecchāḥ krūrāḥ*<sup>7</sup>) and Varāhamihira says that they were disrespectful: *Nirmalyādāḥ Mlecchāḥ*. The author of the *Kathā-S-Sāgara* writes that they killed Brahmans, interfered with sacrifices, and carried off the daughters of hermits<sup>8</sup>. In a late Buddhist chronicle the *Āryamañjuśrī-mūla-Kalpa*, the Mlecchas frequently appear as the companions of robbers: *Mlecchataskarāḥ*<sup>9</sup>.

## 68. KAMBOJAS

The various references to the name point to the upper Oxus region as the home of the Kambojas; the identification of *Kamboja-janapada* with Kashmir and eastern Afghanistan does not satisfy the conditions generally<sup>10</sup>. Different sources make out that Gandhāra, Kāpiśa, Bālhika, and Kamboja were the famous countries of the trans-Indus region of India. As already noted, the *Gandhāra-janapada* was bounded by the river Kabul in the south, and extended from Takṣaśila in the east to the river Kunār. Kāpiśa related to Kafiristan, between the Kunar and the Hindu kush which separated it from Bālhika. Kamboja with its capital Dvārakā as suggested by Rhys Davids and identified by Dr. Moti Chandra with Darwaz in the Pamir-Badakshan region, obviously referred to the upper Oxus basin<sup>11</sup>. The relative geographical position of these celebrated peoples makes for the extension of the geographical frontiers of

1 EI. XVIII. 101, vs. 4.

2 EI. XXV. 222, vs. 18.

3 EI. XXVI. 92.

4 Cf. 'Mleccha Ghorī' of *Pṛthivīrāja-vijaya*.

5 EI. XII. 200.

6 Mbh (B.), vii, 80. 42. Cf. 1. 72. 15.

7 Mbh; vi, 9. 65.

8 KSSR, II. p. 564. Cf. *Skanda Purāṇa*, I. 2. 40. 269.

9 For the PĀRADAS (No. 62) see supra pp. 114-15; HĀRAHUNAKAS (No. 63), Supra p. 130; RĀMATHAS (No. 64), supra p. 130; RUDDHAKAṬAKA (No. 65), Supra p. 23. DAŚAMĀLIKAS (No. 66), cannot be identified. For the Settlement of the Kṣatriyas, Vaiśyas and Śūdras (No. 67) see supra p. 99 fn. 5. Settlements of different orders of society are referred to in many texts (Cf. *Brāhmaṇavāda* of Rājasekhara). Pāṇini's *Brāhmaṇaka-janapada* (v. 2. 71) is equated with Brahmanabad of Sind (IHQ. XXIX. 15).

10 S. B. Chaudhuri in IHQ. XXVI. 118.

11 See also Dr. Agrawala in IHQ. XXIX. 13-14.



ancient India in the north-west as far as Ferghāna, the Prakāṇva of Pāṇini (vi. 1. 153)<sup>1</sup>.

#### 75 and 76. ĀTREYAS AND BHARADVĀJAS

In the *Bhīṣma Parva* list of the *Mahābhārata*, the Ātreyas and the Bharadvājas are mentioned in a list of fierce *Mleccha* people along with other barbarous tribes, mainly of the north and north-west: *Atreyāḥ-sabhar-advājāstathaiva stanapoṣikāḥ*<sup>2</sup>. In the *Harṣa-carita*<sup>3</sup>, in a list of countries famous for horses, mention is made of Bharadvāja between Kamboja and Sindhu. These allusions and notices point to the north-western country beyond the Indus on the west as the home of these tribes.

#### 77. PRASTALAS

In the *Rāmāyaṇa* they are mentioned in a list of the Punjab nations: *Prasthalān Bharatāmścaiva Kurūmśca saha Madrakaiḥ*<sup>4</sup>. Other sources similarly indicate that the Prasthalas were a Punjab people, and lived very near to the Trigartas: *Strigartah Prasthalā-dhipah*<sup>5</sup>. Prasthala was perhaps a dependency of Trigarta in the time of the Kurukṣetra war and Pargiter equates it with the district "between Ferozpur, Pattiala and Sirsa". The name Pātialā or Pattiala seems to be a contraction of Prasthala<sup>6</sup>.

#### 78. LAMPĀKAS

Their geographical location has been discussed<sup>7</sup>. From Chinese sources we learn that the people were short in stature, but were active and impetuous. Their garments were made of white linen, and by nature they were thievish and untrustworthy<sup>8</sup>.

#### 85. TĀMASAS and TOMARAS

The Tāmasas were the people of Tamasā (dark river), i. e. the Tons a river of the Tehri State and Dehra-Dun district which rises

<sup>1</sup> For the DARADAS (No. 69) see supra p. 130; VARBARAS (No. 70), supra p. 114. The AṅGALAUKIKAS (No. 71) are mentioned in the *Matsya-Purāṇa* in connection with the trans-Himalayan rivers of the north (121. 44). They may be a totem-etic tribe like the people of Kashgar (YC, II, p. 290, 292). For the CĪNAS (No. 72), see supra p. 112-13; TUKHĀRAS (No. 73), see supra p. 105 ff; BĀHYATODARAS (No. 74), see supra p. 107.

<sup>2</sup> vi. 9. 68-69.

<sup>3</sup> Op. cit. p. 50.

<sup>4</sup> iv. 43. 11.

<sup>5</sup> vii. 16. 19; MP, p. 321.

<sup>6</sup> DD, p. 159.

<sup>7</sup> Supra p. 100.

<sup>8</sup> BR, II, p. 90. For the

STANAPAS (No. 79), see supra p. 101; PĪḌIKAS (No. 80), supra p. 101; JĀGUDAS (No. 81) supra pp. 102; APAGAS (No. 82), supra p. 104 ff; ALIMADRAS (No. 83) supra p. 101; KAIRATA (No. 84) supra p. 131.

north of the Jamnotri peaks, a few miles from the sources of the Yamunā. But a tribe of the name of Tomara also existed, for the *Matsya Purāṇa* records that Tomara and Haṁsamārga (No. 86) were two other countries, like Aśvamukha and Kaṇapṛāvaraṇa, through which the river Pāvanī flowed<sup>1</sup>. The passage deals with mythical geography, but Pāvanī was presumably a river of the central Himalayan mountain system, and the indications are that the Tomaras and Haṁsamārgas lived somewhere in the borderland between India and Tibet, very near to each other, as the bearing in our text (Nos. 85 and 86) goes. The place name Haṁsamārga is one in meaning with Haṁsadvāra, for *mārga* and *dvāra* both carries the sense of a path. Haṁsadvāra has been regarded as the same as the Krauñca-*randhra* of the *Meghadūta*, the latter being regarded as identical with the Niti Pass in Kumaun, which affords the passage from India to Tibet<sup>2</sup>. The *Mahābhārata* refers to a people called Haṁsapathas along with the Śakas, Yavanas and Kāmbojas.<sup>3</sup> Etymologically, Haṁsapatha and Haṁsamārga bear the same meaning and in all probability denote the same place. In all these notices, we are given some information about those mountain tribes, who settled in the deep valleys, ravines and passes that connected the trans-Himalayan highland of Tibet with India. Similarly, the Kupathas of the North-Eastern Division (No. 38), must have been one such people of the Himalayan Passes. In a chapter devoted to the description of mythical geography of the north, the *Matsya Purāṇa* gives the name of some passes ending with *patha*, such as Kupatha, Kharapatha and Vetrāśaṅkupatha.<sup>4</sup> The *Rājatarāṅgiṇī* knows a country called Kārapatha<sup>5</sup> which was near the Himalayas<sup>6</sup> and Siddhapatha which was old name of the Sidau or Budil Pass (14000 ft.) in Kashmir<sup>7</sup>.

<sup>1</sup> 121. 55 ff.      <sup>2</sup> DD, p. 73 & 104.      <sup>3</sup> vii, 19. 7.      <sup>4</sup> 121. 55 ff.

<sup>5</sup> VIII, 2444, RT, II, p. 190.      <sup>6</sup> AIHT, pp. 278-79.

<sup>7</sup> IHQ. XXVII, 237 fn. These entries of our text clearly relate to the deep ravines and narrow mountain passes of the north which seem to have been fairly well-known. Thus Pāṇini in his *Devapathādi-gaṇa* (v. 3. 100) refers to various kinds of routes, e.g. *vāripatha*, *sthalapatha*, *rathapatha*, *karipatha*, *ajapatha*, *śaṅkupatha*, *rājapatha*, *śiṃhapatha*, *haṁsapatha*. The Buddhist *Niddesa* Commentary similarly furnishes a list of routes, passes and tracks such as *jaṇṇupatha*, *meṇḍapatha* (ram-track), *chattapatha* (parasol route), *vaiṇsapatha* (bamboo track), *sakuṇapatha*, *mūṣikapatha*, *daripatha* (cavern path) and *vettacāra* (course of reed). See *Mahāniddesa*, vol. I, 145-55; II. 414-15. Dr. D. C. Sircar writes that these names also occur in early Indian works such as

## 87. KĀŚMĪRAS

The name Kāśmīra with its derivative Kāśmīra occurs in the *gāṇas* to Pāṇini's work, and the scholiast adds that they belonged to the same group as the Śālvas<sup>1</sup>. The Kṣatriya heroes of Kāśmīr are stated to have been conquered by Arjuna<sup>2</sup>. The country and the people are noticed by classical writers.<sup>3</sup> Hiuen Tsang reached the country of *Ka-sse-mi-lo* (Kāśmīra) from *Wu-la-shih*, i. e. Hazara<sup>4</sup>; and his notices of the country and its people give the impression that the inhabitants "have changed as little as the soil since Hiuen Tsang's days." Dr. Stein remarks that Kāśmīr must have been then (in the time of Hiuen Tsang), just as now, restricted to the great basin of the Vitastā, and the side valleys drained by its tributaries above the Bāramūla defile<sup>5</sup>. The capital in Hiuen Tsang's time was perhaps *Mi-na-si-to* (Menāsītā) and in other Chinese accounts the name is given as *Po-lo-wu-lo-pu-lo* (Bāramūla). Adhiṣṭhāna, or Adashtān of Arab geographers<sup>6</sup>, that is, the present city Śrīnagar was comparatively a new place at the time of the traveller. According to the author of the *Kathā-S-Sāgara*, Hiraṇyapura was the capital of Kāśmīr and Vijaya its famous holy place. It is also stated that that the Himalayas encircled Kashmir with its embrace and it was laved by the waters of the Vitastā<sup>7</sup>. According to Puruṣottamadeva Kīra was in Kāśmīra<sup>8</sup>. Hemacandra, however, refers to a variety of names such as Mādhumata, Sārasvata, and Vikarṇika as the alternative names of the country<sup>9</sup>.

*Vimānavatthu* and the *Milīṇḍa-paṇḥa*. The *Bṛhatkathā* clearly refers to *ajapatha* (XVIII. 416) which stood for the narrow tracks leading over high mountains and defiles which the colonists had to negotiate with the help of goats to transport merchandise during the course of a journey to Suvarṇabhūmi. Numerous mountain terrains, passes, routes, and cavern path which had to be crossed in all stages of the journey to distant lands beyond India across the mountains, seas and deserts by every improvised means as that of a rope, cane or branch of a tree or bamboo which the colonists experienced have been clearly reflected in these long lists (See R. C. Majumdar, *Suvarṇadvīpa*, I, pp. 56-60; Agrawala in *IHQ*. XXI. 8). For HĀMSAMĀRGAS (no. 86) see *supra* p. 135

<sup>1</sup> *Supra* p. 29.

<sup>2</sup> *Mbh.*, ii. 27. 17.

<sup>3</sup> MT, p. 305: See RT, II, pp. 353 ff.

<sup>4</sup> YC, I, pp. 267-262.

<sup>5</sup> RT, II, pp. 351 ff.

<sup>6</sup> Elliot and Dowson, 'The history of India', I, p. 64.

<sup>7</sup> KSSR, II, p. 82, 113, 115, 196.

<sup>8</sup> TKS, p. 31.

<sup>9</sup> *Abhidhāna*, p. 382. For the TAṆGANAS (No. 88) see *supra* p. 129. CŪLIKAS or SŪLIKAS (No. 89) *Supra* p. 113.

## 90. KUHAKAS

They were the people of Kohistan situated between the river Indus on the west and the Hazara district on the east. This is supported by the evidence of the *Matsya.Purāṇa* which says that the river Indus flowed through the *janapadas* of Gandhāra, Uraśa and Kuhu: *Gāndhārānaurasūn Kuhun*<sup>1</sup>.

1 121. 46-47. For the URṆAS (No. 91) see *supra* p. 91, fn. 5.

## CHAPTER V

### THE NORTH-WESTERN AND NORTH-EASTERN DIVISIONS

#### SECTION I. THE NORTH-WESTERN DIVISION

(See chart No. III)

The accounts of this division come from only one source namely the *Bṛhat-saṁhitā* group. There are considerable variations in the list of Parāśara and Mārka (k)., but both of them support in their own way the whole list of the *Bṛhat-saṁhitā* which is, therefore, shown here. Those names of the Parāśara list which are left without any support are eliminated. The Mārka (k). has put some of the names belonging to this division in its list of names going under the Western Division which accounts for the short list of the North-Western Division. The North-Western Division of India is not noticed in the Purāṇic scheme of the divisions of India. This may explain the absence of the lists of the Vā. group in this division. Only the *Mārkaṇḍeya* provides a list of 22 names labelled North-Western, (Supra p. 2) which, however, turns out to be the same set of names the other texts have put under the Northern Division (Supra p. 82. chart No. II). It is not a new set of names that the *Mārkaṇḍeya* tradition knows about the NW. Division ; through some textual corruptions some names of the Vā. group of the Northern Division have come to be labelled as 'North-Western'. In other words, that very portion which the Mārka. omits to state as going under the Northern Division, has been incorrectly put here, and consequently, this group of Mārka. has been shown in its list going under the Northern Division where it is thoroughly in position, and perfectly agrees with the other lists of the Vā. group. (See chart II and III). Incidentally, this is an instance of the nature of the textual corruptions of the Purāṇas. The following are, therefore, the peoples and countries of this division :—

( 1 ) Māṇḍavyas<sup>1</sup>,      ( 2 ) Tukhāras<sup>2</sup>,      ( 3 ) Tālas<sup>3</sup>,

<sup>1</sup> Māṇḍavya as a country of the North-West is mentioned in the *Agni Purāṇa* (IHQ. IX. 476). The word may be a mistake for the Muruṇḍas, who according to Hemacandra lived in Lampāka or Laghman : *Lampākās = tu Muruṇḍāḥ* (Abhidhāna, p. 383). The same people may have been meant in the Allahabad Inscription of Samudragupta, where mention is made of the Śaka-Muruṇḍas. According to Sten-Konow Muruṇḍa is a Śaka word meaning lord (EI. XIV. 292-93). See also B. O. Law in IC. pp. 386 ff ; NHIP. VI. 147 ; HAIB, p. 32, fn. 7 & pp. 33-4, for other notices to the name.    <sup>2</sup> Supra pp. 105 ff.

<sup>3</sup> They may be connected with the city of *Ta-lo-su* restored as Talas (situated near the present Aulie-ata) which was visited by Hiuen Tsang while

# NORTH-WESTERN DIVISION

## III

( Chart No. III. )

Bṛhat-Saṃhitā, Ch. 14, Vs. 22-23.	Parāśara Paścimottara- syām.	Mārkaṇḍeya (k) 58, 35 ff.	Mārkaṇḍeya, 57, 35 ff.	Garuḍa, I, 55, 16 ff.
1. Māṇḍavyas	5.	1.	---	1.
2. Tukhāras	8. Tuṣāra	...	---	2.
3. Tālas	9.	...	---	...
4. Halas	12. Halata	10. Vāla	---	...
5. Madras	10. Valla ?	12. Dharmaba- ddhas ?	13.	4. Muṣas
6. Aśmakas	---	3. Aśvakāntas	...	...
7. Kulūtas	---	4. Kunyota	...	...
8. Lahaḍas	11. Halaḍa	5. Laḍahas	...	...
9. Strīrājya	22.	6.	...	...
10. Nṛsīmhabavana	---	8.	...	...
11. Khashtas	18. Saraga	11. Avasthā	---	5. Khasa
12. Veṇumatī	2.	9.	---	...
13. Phalgulukas	4.	7. Bālikas	---	...
14. Gurusas	21. Guluha	...	---	...
15. Marukuccha	7.	2. Caṇḍakhāras	8. Carmakhaṇḍikār	...
16. Carmaraṅgas	6. Ekanetra	...	---	...
17. Ekavilooana	20.	13. Alukas ?	---	3. Mūlikas
18. Śūlikas	16.	...	---	...
19. Dīrghagrīvas	17.	...	---	...
20. Dīrghāśya	15.	...	---	6.
21. Dīrghakeśas	1. Girimatī	...	---	...
(21)	3. Rālamatī	...	---	...
	13. Bardilina	...	---	...
	14. Viltina	---	---	...
	19. Viśaveśa	...	---	...
	(22)	14. Urūkurma	...	...
		(14)	1. Vāhlikas	...
			2. Vāṭadhānas	...
			3. Ābhīras	---
			4. Kālatoyakas	...
			5. Aparāntas	...
			6. Sudras	...
			7. Pallavas	---
			9. Gandhāras	...
			10. Gabalas	...
			11. Sudras	...
			12. Sauvīras	...
			14. People of Śatadru	---
			15. Kālīngas	...
			16. Pāradas	---
			17. Hārabhūṣikas	...
			...	...
			18. Mātharas	...
			19. Bāhu-Bhadras	...
			20. Kaikeyas	---
			21. Daśamālikas	...
			23. Settlement of Kṣatriyas, Vaiśyas & Śūdras	---
			(22)	...
				7. Mahā- nadas
				(7)



- (4) Hālas<sup>1</sup>, (5) Madras<sup>2</sup>, (6) Aśmakas<sup>3</sup>, (7) Kulūtas<sup>4</sup>,  
 (8) Ladaḍas<sup>5</sup>, (9) Strirājya<sup>6</sup>, (10) Nṛsimhavanam<sup>7</sup>

journeying through Turkistan. Talastān is a mountain-girt country and is watered by the various tributaries of Syr Darya. In ancient times it was frequented by merchants coming from all parts. The natives were mostly Tartars (YO, I, p. 82; BR, I, p. 28; Turkistan by E. Schuyler, 1876, vol. I, p. 399). But it is difficult to say if the information underlying this entry refers to the people of Turkistan, for the next name Hālas (No. 4) is very clearly the designation of the people of Halā Mts. of the lower Indus valley, that run between Baluchistan and Sind. It was the same as Sālvakā-giri of the *Gaṇa-pāṭha* of Pāṇini (IHQ. XXIX. 6, 19).

1 Alberuni combines the two and reads the name as Tālahala (AI, I, p. 302). For Hālas see above.

2 Supra p. 115 ff.

3 Supra pp. 50-52 ff.

4 Mārka (k). reads the name as Kunyatāladahas. Pargiter (MP. p. 375) has taken it as a single word. The reading of the *Bṛhat-saṃhitā* clearly indicates that the names are Kulūtas and Ladaḍas. Alberuni reads Kulūtalahaḍa (op. cit.), which is thus a mistake. Dr. Kirfel probably following Pargiter also fails to note that the Kunyatāladaha of Mārka (k). refers to two names (DKDI, p. 87). This has led to confusion in the order of names he has tabulated. Thus he puts Bālīka of Mārka (k). against Halaha (ibid) but Bālīka seems to represent the Phalgulukas of the Brsam. (No. 13) as shown in the chart. Against Phalguluka, Dr. Kirfel puts Dharmabaddha of Mārka (k). [DKDI, p. 88] which does not agree. For Kulūtas see supra p. 119.

5 In the *Rājatarāṅgī* mention is made of both Lahara and Lohara. The former is identified with the modern Lār District (V. 51, RT, I, p. 193; VII. 1360, RT, I, p. 375). Lohara is famous as the ancestral home of the Kasmiran kings (VII. 140, RT, I, p. 278), and its position is fixed in the valley called Loharin in the territory of Prūnts (RT, II, pp. 293-300). The Ladaḍas of our list may be connected with any of these places, although none of these two names seems to be known to epic writers. Lahaḍa, bears a likeness to mod. Lahore, which existed in the time of Ptolemy (MT, p. 126). Abul Fazl states that in ancient astronomical records Lohāwar is given as the name of Lāhor (AIA, II, p. 312).

6 This entry goes to corroborate the traditions of the Indians regarding such kingdoms. Vātsyāyana in his *Kūmasūtra* groups Strirājya with Vāhlikas (VKS, p. 385) with whom it had certain customs in common. H. O. Chakladar thinks that in the *Rājatarāṅgī*, Strirājya is considered to have been lying in the extreme north-west which accordingly agrees with the bearing given in the *Bṛhat-saṃhitā* (ABORI. VII. 144 ff). Hiuen Tsang's account of *Lang-Kie-lo* corresponding to a portion of Baluchistan and Mekran points to the existence of a "Women Kingdom" there (YO, II, pp. 257-58; BR, II, pp. 277-79; See also Supra pp. 109, 127, fn.).

7 Dr. Kern divides the word into two parts as meaning two names. Alberuni says that Nṛsimhavana means the people with lion faces (op. cit.). But a name which is restored as Narasimha occurs in Hiuen Tsang's itinerary. Cunningham thinks that the place is represented by the large ruined mound of Ran-Si about 25 miles to the west of Lahore (CAGI, pp. 221-22). Nṛsimha of



- (11) **Khasthas**<sup>1</sup>, (12) **Venumatī**<sup>2</sup>, (13) **Phalgulukas**<sup>3</sup>, (14) **Guruhas**<sup>4</sup>,  
 (15) **Marukuccha**<sup>5</sup>, (16) **Carma-raṅgas**<sup>6</sup>, (17) **Ekanetra**<sup>7</sup>,  
 (18) **Śūlikas**<sup>8</sup>, (19) **Dīrghagrīvas**<sup>9</sup>, (20) **Dīrghāsya**<sup>10</sup>,  
 (12) **Dīrghakeśas**<sup>11</sup>.

our text is a mere variant, and the forest of Pīlu trees lying near the place as recorded by the Chinese traveller may bear out the identity of Nṛsimhavana with Narasimha.

<sup>1</sup> This is a mythical name (AI. I. 302).

<sup>2</sup> This cannot be identified. Alberuni says that it was Tirmidh (op cit.).

<sup>3</sup> This is an unknown name. Were they the Phegelas of the Greek writers who lived somewhere between the Hydraotes and the Hyphasis (MI, p. 281) ?

<sup>4</sup> Supra p. 52. The name occurs distinctly as Guruha in the *Bṛhat-saṁhita* (XIV. 23), but Dr. Kirfel reads the name as Guluha (DKDI, p. 88) which is a mistake. He further shows Alūka of Mārka (k). against Guluha (Ibid). But Alūka is plainly a corruption of Śūlikas of Brāhma (No. 18) as shown in the chart.

<sup>5</sup> Supra p. 113.

<sup>6</sup> This is a totemistic tribe of uncertain identity.

<sup>7</sup> This is a fabulous people.

<sup>8</sup> See supra p. 113.

<sup>9</sup> } All these are some fabulous names so common in ethnographical  
<sup>10</sup> } tradition.  
<sup>11</sup> }

## SECTION II

### THE NORTH-EASTERN DIVISION

(See chart No. IV)

In the text of Vā. group we have six lists going under this division all of which follow the same order and enumerate the same set of names. The different lists of the Brsam. group, in spite of considerable variations, make out a common text. The number of ethnic names and countries recorded by the various lists is shown below :—

Brsam.	Parāśara.	Mārka (k)	Vā.	Matsya.	Mark.	Br.	Vām.	Gad.
35	27	33	12	12	13	13	13	7

The Brsam. records the greatest number and the striking feature is that the whole list is supported by the Mārka (k). and Parāśara in their own way. There is, however, one peculiarity ; many of the names of the list of the *Bṛhat-saṁhitā* are included elsewhere, especially in the Northern Division by the text of the Vā. group. In fact, the 'North-East', judged from the location of names going under it, was manifestly a mistake for the 'North.' In the list of Parāśara there are some unaccountable gaps but in such cases the Brsam. and Mārka (k). agree with each other and contradict Parāśara. In the list of the Mārka (K). there is only one name which finds no support ; there are some few gaps also, and although its reading of names is in most cases irregular, yet it has the merit of being a better account than Parāśara. Hence, the whole list of the *Bṛhat-saṁhitā* can be exhibited in this division, which necessarily means the inclusion of the Mārka (K)'s list, except the names which are not corroborated.

The names recorded by the different lists of the Vā. group under the head *Parvatāśrayin* are comparatively few in number. The noteworthy feature is that a good number of them are found in the lists of the people of this division (*Aiśāna*) as furnished by the text of the Brsam. group. This lends weight to the view that the *Parvatāśrayināḥ* (i.e. the Highlanders) of the Purāṇas represented the people of the North-Eastern division. But it has been stated (supra p. 4) before that there was some confusion with regard to this North-Eastern Division, regarding which all the texts including that of the Brsam. blundered ; for even Varāhamihira under the label *Aiśānyām* gives in the list under review a set of ethnic names and countries whose bearing in most cases was decidedly the 'North.' Perhaps the name 'North-East' was used generically only to conform to the plan

of the Nine Divisions of India but adequate data to substantiate it were lacking. The result was that a whole people of the 'North' had passed undetected into the list of the North-Eastern Division, and no attempt was obviously made to rectify the error or to submit this list to any critical revision.

But in spite of agreements with the text of the Brsam. group the Purāṇic lists make out a different text. The text of the Vā. group of this division shows that the Mat. has borrowed from the Vā., and that the Br. has copied from the Mārka; for the Vā. and Mat. have twelve names while the Mārka and Br. record thirteen. But the Mat. has not carefully followed the Vā., because there is a slight irregularity in its order. The list of Br. is, however, free from such defects. The list of the Vāmana has been based on that of the Mārka. The Gad. list is essentially short. These shortcomings notwithstanding, the list of the Vā. stands supported and is, therefore, included in this division. The following are the ethnic names and countries of the North-Eastern Division according to the text of the Brsam. group :—

- (1) Meruka<sup>1</sup>, (2) Naṣṭarājya<sup>2</sup>, (3) Paśupālas<sup>3</sup>, (4) Kīras<sup>4</sup>, (5) Kāśmīras<sup>5</sup>, (6) Abhisāras<sup>6</sup>, (7) Daradas<sup>7</sup>, (8) Taṅganas<sup>8</sup>, (9) Kulūtas<sup>9</sup>, (10) Sairindhas<sup>10</sup>, (11) Vanarāṣṭra<sup>11</sup>, (12) Brahma-

1 Supra p. 88 fn.

2 This may be identified with Nast or Jagat-sukh in the upper valley of the Beas, the ancient seat of the Pala Rajas of Kulu (NHH, Chap. II, p. 9, fn. 3).

3 Here is perhaps a reference to the shepherds of the Kulu valley who master large flocks of sheep and goats. The Kulu valley is dotted with dense grazing grounds (gabr) and lofty grassy summits. As pasturage is the occupation of many people there, pasturage rights and customs of Kulu have developed on the basis of ancient convention.

4 Dr. Kirfel's collation of names leaves much to be desired. The Kinnaras of Mark (K). (No. 2) are shown against the Kīras of Brsam. (No. 4) in our chart. But Dr. Kirfel equates the Kīras of the Brsam. with the Kicakas of the Mārka (K). No. 4 (DKDI, p. 90). This is a mistake, for Kicaka plainly refers to Kucika of the Brsam. list No. 25 (see chart). Against the Kucikas of Brsam., he has put Maraka of Mārka (K). No. 20 (DKDI, p. 90). But there is no such word as Maraka in the list of the 'Mārka (K). The word is Damaraka referring to the Dāmaras of the Brsam. No. 14 (chart). So in Kirfel's chart of Mārka (K) there is no name for Dāmara of the Brsam. For Kīras, see supra p. 98 fn. 1.

5 Supra p. 136.

6 Alberuni's reading Abhi & Sūrada (AI I. 303) is plainly a mistake. supra p. 130.

7 Supra p. 130. 8 Supra p. 129. 9 Supra p. 119. 10 Supra p. 124.

11 Alberuni reads simply Rāṣṭra (op. cit.) The name, as the context and grouping implies, stood for some forest region near about the Upper Jumna. It may have corresponded to the northern portion of Garhwal. This location is also indicated by the mention of Brahmapura which comes next.

pura<sup>1</sup> (13) Dārvas<sup>2</sup>, (14) Dāmaras<sup>3</sup>, (15) Vanarājya<sup>4</sup>,  
 (16) Kirātas<sup>5</sup>, (17) Cīnas<sup>6</sup>, (18) Kauṇindas<sup>7</sup>, (19) Bhalas<sup>8</sup>.  
 (20) Pololal<sup>9</sup>, (21) Jaṭāsura<sup>10</sup>, (22) Kunahas<sup>11</sup>, (23) Khaṣas<sup>12</sup>,  
 (24) Ghosas<sup>13</sup>, (25) Kucikas<sup>14</sup>, (26) Ekacaraṇas<sup>15</sup>, (27) Anuviśvas<sup>16</sup>,  
 (28) Suvarṇabhūmi<sup>17</sup>, (29) Vasuvanam<sup>18</sup>, (30) Devasthala<sup>19</sup>,  
 (31) Pauravas<sup>20</sup>, (32) Cīranivāsanas<sup>21</sup>, (33) Trinetras<sup>22</sup>, (34) Mt.  
 Muñjādri<sup>23</sup>, (35) Gandharvas<sup>24</sup>.

1 This is the *Po-lo-hi-mo-pu to* of Huen Tsang's account. The name is restored as Brahmapura and identified with Kumaun or the whole hilly country between the Alakanda on the west, and the Karnali river which joins the Gogra in its upper course in Nepal on the east (CA 41, p. 408; see also supra p. 127).

2 supra pp. 129-30

3 The name is frequently mentioned in the *Rājatarāṅginī* as the designation of a class of feudal land-owners (Bojar) of Kashmir (IV. 348, RT, I, p. 154 & II, pp. 307 ff). But Dāmara may be a tribal expression as well, for Pliny mentions a people called Dimuri (MM, p. 152).

4 The identity of this hilly region is uncertain. If it is the Banagara of Ptolemy (MT, p. 141) it may lend identity with the Banna or Banu district on the North-West. Cf. Vanāyu of the *Rāmāyaṇa* (i.6.22). Dr. Agrawala identifies Vārṇava of Pāṇini's *Sūtra* with the Bannu region and waziristan (IHQ. XXVII, 11; XXIX. 10, 31). 5 Supra p. 131. 6 Supra p. 112-113.

7 Supra p. 125, fn. 5. 8 This is an unknown name; besides it is doubtful if this is the original form of the name as it goes unchecked in the list. The context and the bearing indicates that it was situated near about the Kulu valley. It is just possible that Balsān one of the Simla Hill States of the Punjab is meant here. The State lies 30 miles east of Simla.

9 The latter part of the name 'Lola' survives in modern Lāhul, the Himalayan canton of the Kulu sub-division of Kangra district. The Mārka (K.)'s reading Lolana (see chart) is a nearer approach to the Lahūlis, i.e. the people of Lahul.

10 This is the name of a mountainous tribe who were known for their locks of hair.

11 They were the people of what is now known as Kunihār or Kunwar, a small Simla Hill State of the Punjab lying to the north of Bashahr (see supra p. 128).

12 Supra pp. 128. ff.

13 This is a professional name.

14 This refers to the people of Turkistan. Pāṇini's Kūcavāra (IV.3.94) and Kūca of skt. ms. and inscription being the old name of Turkistan (IHQ. XXIX. 31).

15 The name of a fabulous people. 16 Supra p. 129. 17 Alberuni gives the same reading (op. cit.). Supra p. 127.

18 Supra p. 127. 19 Supra p. 127.

20 This is out of place here. For the Pauravas see supra p. 118.

21 & 22 They are the people of dense mountains about whom no sufficient knowledge was known. 23 Alberuni's reading Puñjādri (op. cit.) is a mistake. Supra p. 87.

24 This is a mythical name.

Tribes of this division according to the text of the Vā. group are :— (36) Nihāras<sup>1</sup>, (37) Hamsamārgas<sup>2</sup>, (38) Kupathas<sup>3</sup>, (39) Kaṇḍaprāvaraṇas<sup>4</sup>, (40) Ūrṇas<sup>5</sup>, (41) Sāhūdakas<sup>6</sup>, (42) Trigartas<sup>7</sup>, (43) Mālavas<sup>8</sup>, (44) Tāmasas<sup>9</sup>.

1 The variant Nirābhāras approximates with Nigarahāra i.e. Jalalabad (MP, p. 345). 2 Supra p. 135. 3 Supra p. 135. The

reading Kurus (IHQ. XXI, 312, fn. III) cannot be taken in view of the identity of the Kupathas.

4 They are a fabulous people. Dr. B. A. Saletore in his book 'The wild tribes in Indian History' (Lahore, 1935) has tried to depict the Lambakarṇas, Kaṇḍaprāvaraṇas, Ekapādas, Yakṣas and Kinnaras as so many tribes of historical India. The Kaṇḍaprāvaraṇa country may be located in the eastern Himalayas (IHQ. XXI, 313, fn. 112).

5 A people of this name who lived near the Bālīkas has been noticed (supra p. 111-12).

6 The variants of the name are many but none of them is identifiable. The name is distorted beyond recognition. The *Mahābhārata* refers to a people called Sakṛdgraha in the *Bhīṣmaparva* list. Dr. D. O. Sircar restores the name as Rūbhukas (IHQ. XXI, 313, fn. 113).

7 Supra p. 97.

8 They are not in position here.

9 Supra p. 134-5.

## CHAPTER VI

### THE WESTERN DIVISION

(See chart No. V)

Most of the texts furnish a list of ethnic and country names of this division, but the number recorded by each is comparatively small. The different accounts of the Brsm. group agree with one other and form one common text. But the Mārka (K), unlike what is observed to be its general feature, formulates a long list of new and unfamiliar names like the list of Parāśara, not a single name of which occurs in any other list of its group. The Purāṇas supply seven lists, and in spite of many irregularities and defects in their lists, it is possible to find out the essential features of agreement in the different Purāṇic lists constituting the text of the Vā. group. The accounts of *Garuḍa* and *Kūrma* are short, and in some points unreliable. The countries grouped under Avanti tendencies in the *Nāṭyaśāstra* are also tabulated here. In the *Kāvya-mīmāṃsā* we have a short list of nine names. The following table will show the number of names recorded by the different lists :—

Brsm.	Parāśara.	Mārka(K).		Vā.	Mat.	Mārka.	Br.	Vām.	Gad.	Kūr.		Nāṭya	Kāvya
19	27	28		19	7	19	4	18	6	5		10	9

In the list of the *Brhat-saṁhitā* names going under Nos. 17 and 18, are not supported by any other account of its group; with the exception of these two, the whole list of the text can be shown in this division. Those names of the list of Parāśara and Mārka(K). which are in agreement with the *Brhat-saṁhitā* are likewise included. The uncorroborated group of names in the Parāśara list, is not thoroughly in position here, and is thus removed. But as between Parāśara and Mārka(K), it is the former that supports best the list of the *Brhat-saṁhitā*. In fact, the Mārka(K) list is highly defective. It has condensations as in No. 1 the first two names of the *Brhat-saṁhitā* list are condensed into one. It has wide gaps, e.g. it omits names going under Nos. 15, 16 and 19 of the *Brhat-saṁhitā* list. It has also the defect of irregular insertions and of sundry displacement of names; for names going under Nos. 20, 24, 26 and 27 which belong to the text of the north-west are carelessly put into this division, which accounts for the short list of the Mārka(K). in the North-Western Division<sup>1</sup>.

1 The Sarkaras of Mārka (K). (No. 15), in the group of inserted countries, may be connected with Sukkur in Sind (IHQ. XXIX. 31).

That the text of Vā. group offers altogether a different version is exemplified here very clearly. We have here two different sets of country and ethnic names in which, unlike other divisional lists, not a single name of the Vā. group occurs in in the text of the Bṛsam. group. With the exception of some few textual corruptions and minor displacements, which are easily discernible, the lists of the Vā. group form one text. This text of the Vā. group begins with the Sūrpārakas and ends with the Arbudas in a successive order ; in all nineteen in number, some of which are mentioned by the *Bṛhat-saṁhitā* in a different location. Thus for instance, names going under Nos. 4, 11, 13, 16 and 18 of the Vā. list in this division are to be found in the list furnished by the *Bṛhat-saṁhitā* in the Southern Division under Nos. 5, 28, 11, 62 and 21 respectively. Coming to other details, we see that the Mat. and the Br. have suffered unexpected textual corruptions. Their lists are very short, and if the former has left out the earlier portion of the Vā. list<sup>1</sup>, the latter has left out the latter portion of the Mārka. list. The very fact that the Mat. does not conform to the order of the Vā., nor the Br. to that of the Mārka., is an unmistakable sign of their unreliability. The list of the Mārka. is complete and full, but there are certain mistakes in the reading of names, as also in the insertion of new names. The defect of Vāmana's list is that its distortion of names is carried beyond recognition. The whole list of the Vā. is, therefore, admitted into this division, which necessarily means the inclusion of the other lists of its group with the exception of the unsupported inserted names. The entries left uncorroborated in the list of Gaḍ. and Kūr. are necessarily excluded from this division, and this gains support from the fact that the names in question occur in the lists of the south-western division of the Bṛsam. group. So, the following may be shown in the Western Division according to the text of the Bṛsam. group :—

- (1) Maṇimat<sup>2</sup>, (2) Meghavat<sup>3</sup>, (3) Vanaugha<sup>4</sup>, (4) Kṣurār-pana<sup>5</sup> (5) Astācala<sup>6</sup>, (6) Āparāntakas<sup>7</sup>, (7) Śāntikas<sup>8</sup>,

1 But Dr. Kirfel gives a different version of the *Matsya* list in which some names of the earlier portion of the Vā. list occur. Cf. the *Matsya Purāṇa* list of *Die Völker des Westens* in DKDI, p. 75 with the list of the same text tabulated in chart No. V. 2 Alberuni reads Maṇimān (AI, I. 302). Supra p. 88.

3 Supra p. 88. 4 Does it refer to Bannu ? 5 Its identity is unknown.

6 Supra p. 96.

7 Supra pp. 55-56.

8 Its identity is not known. It is suggested that it corresponded to Satiya of Aśoka's inscription.

(8) Haihayas<sup>1</sup>, (9) Praśastādri<sup>2</sup>, (10) Vokkāṇas<sup>3</sup>, (11) Pañcanada,<sup>4</sup> (12) Rāmaṭhas<sup>5</sup>, (13) Pāratas, (14) Tārakṣiti or Tārakṣuras, (15) Jṛṅgas, (16) Vaiśyas, (17) Mlecchas<sup>6</sup>.

The following may be exhibited in this division according to the text of the Vā. group :—

(18) Sūrpaṅkaras, (19) Kolāvanas, (20) Durgas, (21) Tālikaṭas, (22) Puleyas or Pulindas<sup>7</sup>, (23) Surālas<sup>8</sup>, (24) Rūpasas, (25) Tāpasas, (26) Kuruminas<sup>9</sup>, (27) Kāraskaras<sup>10</sup>, (28) Nāsikāvyas, (29) Narmadā, (30) Bhārukacchas, (31) Māheyas, (32) Sārasvatas, (33) Kacchīyas, (34) Surāṣṭras, (35) Āvantiyas, (36) Arbudas.

#### 11. PAÑCANADA

Pañcanada is frequently mentioned in the *Mahābhārata*<sup>11</sup>, sometimes in conjunction with the Sindhus and Sauvīras<sup>12</sup>. In the *Kumārāpāla-carita* of Jayasinha Śūri (A. D. 1365), it is said that Kumārāpāla (1141-73 A. D.) the king of Aṇahila-pāṭaka, after defeating the king of Kaccha marched against *Pañcanadādhipa*, who is described as 'Nausādhana-samuddhata'. After vanquishing the king of Pañcanada, he proceeded against Mūlasthana, i. e. Multan<sup>13</sup>. As it is placed between Cutch and Multan, it would appear that Pañcanada was the designation of the littoral portion of Sind in the late mediaeval period. It was perhaps the name of the region to the south of Hyderabad from where the main stream of the Indus bifurcates into several streams<sup>14</sup>.

#### 14. TĀRAKṢITI or TĀRAKṢURAS

In Tārakṣuras we have possibly a reference to the Turuṣkas or Turks.<sup>15</sup> The word Turuṣka is plainly a contraction of Tārakṣura,

For the different views on the Satyaputras see IC. I. 100-107, 667 ff; II. pp. 549 ff; PHAI, p. 272. fn. 6. <sup>1</sup> Supra p. 69. <sup>2</sup> Its identity

is not known. <sup>3</sup> Supra pp. 113-114. <sup>4</sup> Alberuni writes that it

was the country of the union of the five rivers (Ibid). <sup>5</sup> Alberuni reads Maṭhara (Ibid). <sup>6</sup> According to Alberuni they were the Arabs (Ibid).

Dr. Kīrfel drops the name from the list of the Br̥sam. as prepared by him (DKDI, p. 87). This cannot be accounted for (See Br̥sam. XIV, 21).

<sup>7</sup> This is taken on the authority of the *Mārkaṇḍeya* which seems to be more trustworthy. <sup>8</sup> The suggestion that it may be Murala (IHQ. XXI. 309, fn. 81) is pure conjecture. <sup>9</sup> This is taken on the authority

of the *Mārkaṇḍeya*. The other reading Ramina as suggested (Ibid. fn. 84) seems to refer to the name accepted. <sup>10</sup> For the different versions bearing on the name see Dr. D. C. Sircar, op. cit. p. 309, fn. 85. <sup>11</sup> Mbh (B.), v. 4.19 ; v. 19.29. <sup>12</sup> Ibid vi. 20. 10. cf. Mbh ; ii. 32.10. <sup>13</sup> DHNI, II. p. 986.

<sup>14</sup> For RĀMAṬHAS (No. 12) see supra p. 130., and PĀRATAS (No. 13) Supra pp. 114-115. <sup>15</sup> Supra p. 106.



and as such, the people meant here may be the Turks of Eastern Turkestan. From the *Rājatarāṅgiṇi* we learn that the Turuṣkas used to shave half their head<sup>1</sup> and supply girls for the kings of Kasmir<sup>2</sup>. Turuṣka officers were also employed in the Kasmir kingdom<sup>3</sup>. We have reference to the cavalry squadrons of the Turuṣkas in Somadeva's *Kathā-S-Sāgara* where separate mention is also made of the Tājikas<sup>4</sup>. It is suggested that 'Turuska' has been used with reference to the invasion of Muhammad Khiljī, son of Bakhtyar, in a local inscription of Assam<sup>5</sup>.

### 18. SŪRPĀKARAS

It is a mistake for the Sūrpārakas i. e. the natives of Sopara. Sopara is near the coast, in the Bassein taluk of the Thana district, 30 miles north of Bombay. In an inscription of the Śaka year 1072, we have the form Sūrpāraka<sup>6</sup>, and in another Sōrpāraga<sup>7</sup>. It is mentioned as a holy place in the *Mahābhārata*<sup>8</sup> :

*Narmadāyāmaprasprśya tathā Śūrpārakoḍake  
Ekapakṣaṁ nirūhāro ..... .*

In Ptolemy's book the place is mentioned as Soupara<sup>9</sup>. It was an emporium of trade and is frequently mentioned in the Buddhist texts.

### 20. DURGAŚ

Pargiter connects them with Dungarpur, a town and state about 90 miles north-east of Ahmedabad<sup>10</sup>. But Durga was also the name of a tributary of the Sabarmati in Guzerat.

### 21. TĀLIKATAS

The name is mentioned in the *Mahābhārata*<sup>11</sup> as Tālākata along with Daṇḍaka. Tālikata is equated with Talkāḍa or Talakāḍa which was the capital of the Gangas on the Kāveri thirty miles to the east of Mysore.<sup>12</sup>

<sup>1</sup> IV. 179, RT, I, p. 138.

<sup>2</sup> VII. 520, RT, I, p. 310.

<sup>3</sup> RT, I, p. 357, fn. 1149.

<sup>4</sup> KSSR, I, p. 151 & 336.

<sup>5</sup> Kāśībaḍāi Inscription, Kāmarūpasāsanābalī, p. 44. For JṚṆGAS (No. 15) see supra p. 103. For the VAIŚYAS (No. 16) it is difficult to assign any particular locality of importance. For MLECCHAS (No. 17) see supra p. 132.

<sup>6</sup> EI. XXIII. 273. <sup>7</sup> EI, VIII. 79. <sup>8</sup> xiii. 25.50. <sup>9</sup> MT, p. 40. For KOLĀVANAS (No. 19) see infra p. 150. <sup>10</sup> MP, p. 338.

<sup>11</sup> ii. 31. 65.

<sup>12</sup> DD, preface p. iii & p. 202.

## 22. PULEYAS or PULINDAS

They were a non-Aryan tribe of great antiquity. They are mentioned in the *Aitareya Brāhmaṇa*<sup>1</sup>, and perhaps also in the inscriptions of Aśoka if Bühler's identification of Palidas with the Pulindas stands<sup>2</sup>. The tribe is copiously referred to in the *Mahābhārata*<sup>3</sup> as well as in the *Rāmāyaṇa*<sup>4</sup>. Other sources point to their settlement in the Himalayas intermixed with the Kīrātas<sup>5</sup>. A branch of them might have been living in the west on the Aravalli Hills<sup>6</sup>.

But Pulindas also lived in the south, for in the Purāṇas they are associated with the Vindhyan region<sup>7</sup>. The *Kathā-S-Sāgara* similarly describes the Pulindas as a people of the Vindhya hills<sup>8</sup>. In the *Mahābhārata* mention is made of a Dakṣiṇa Pulinda-nagara<sup>9</sup>. Dr. H. C. Raychaudhury thinks that it was identical with Rūpnāth, the find spot of one recension of MRE. I. of Aśoka<sup>10</sup>. Rūpnāth lay not far from Bhilsa in the east. The Pulinda-rāja-rāṣṭra of the Navagrāma Grant of the Mahārāja Hastin<sup>11</sup> is considered equivalent to the Nagod State of Bundelkhand and the northern part of the modern Central Provinces.

The tribe is mentioned by Ptolemy as Poulindai<sup>12</sup>. In the Ajaigarh rock inscription the Pulindas along with the Bhils and Śabarās are described as wild tribes<sup>13</sup>. Epic notices of the people bear out that they were Mlecchas and were an aboriginal tribe. They were a wicked and degraded people and practised evil customs<sup>14</sup>. In the *Kathā-S-Sāgara*, they are represented as looking for human victims to offer to Durgā the presiding deity of the Vindhya hills.<sup>15</sup>

## 23. SURĀLAS.

Pargiter connects the name with an ancient Jewish colony that existed on the Bombay coast before the 2nd century A.D.<sup>16</sup> But Sheerwal, a town in the Satara district in the Bombay Presidency probably preserves the name unaltered. The name, however, is not to be found in ordinary Indian literature.<sup>17</sup>

1 vii. 18.

2 Hultzsch, *Asoka*, p. 48, fn. 14.

3 VI. 9.39-40.

4 iv. 43. 11; S. Levi, *Pre-Aryan etc.*, trans. by P. Bagchi, pp. 88-90.

5 MP, p. 316.

6 MP, p. 338.

7 Mat. 114. 48;

Va. 55. 126; Mbh., vi. 9. 62

8 KSSR, I, p. 42, 74, 148; II, p. 380.

9 ii. 29. 10.

10 PHAI, p. 258.

11 EI. XXI. 126.

12 MT, p. 156.

13 EI, I, 337, v. 22.

14 MP, p. 335.

15 KSSR, II, p. 380.

16 MP, p. 338.

17 For the

RŪPASAS (No. 24) there is hardly any reliable notice. The TĀPASAS (No. 25) may refer to the ascetics living in the Ujjayanta-giri (BR, II, p. 269).

**26 KURUMINAS.**

The name may be a transliteration of Karmānā, the name of a country mentioned in the Susa Palace Inscription of Darius<sup>1</sup>. Karmania or Kerman in Persia 'comprised the modern provinces of Laristan, Kirman and Moghistan' along the coast.<sup>2</sup> The Karmanian desert was "one of the most awful regions on the face of the earth". The identification may be doubted, but it may be stressed that the Pāradas, Turuṣkas and other such people of the distant west have been included in this list.

**27. KARASKARAS.**

They are mentioned in the *Dharmasūtra* of Baudhāyana as an impure tribe.

**28. NĀSIKĀVYAS**

This refers to the form Nāsikakas<sup>3</sup> i.e. the natives of Nasik, situated in the central division of the Bombay Presidency. Nasik is mentioned by Patañjali<sup>4</sup> and might have been known also as Govardhana.<sup>5</sup> Govardhana was a name of considerable antiquity as it is mentioned in the Nasik Cave-inscription of Ushāvadāta<sup>6</sup>. The Kalvan plates of Yasovarman gives us the name Śvetapāda, which corresponded to the northern part of the modern Nasik district.<sup>7</sup> The Abhoṇa (a village in the Kalvan taluk of the Nasik district) Plates<sup>8</sup> of Sankaragana, K.S. 347, indicate that Bhogavarddhana<sup>9</sup> which is the same as Bhokardhan, the north-eastern taluk of Aurangabad district, at one time formed part of Nasik. The donee in the Grant was a resident of Kallāvana which was the same as the Kalvan taluk of the district. Kalvan, a place of great importance, is frequently mentioned in Nasik inscriptions. The natives of this place are meant under the entry Kolāvanas (No. 19) of the Western Division.

The Nripan plates found in Igatpuri of the Nasik district mention a village named Balegrāma of the Goparāṣṭra-*viṣaya*. As the village has been traced in the modern Igatpuri-taluk of Nasik, it follows that Goparāṣṭra-*viṣaya* formed a part of ancient Nasik, although in

1 SI. 4. fn. 3.                      2 MA, p. 187, fn. 1 ; p. 92, fn. 2 ; p. 82, fn. 4.

3 Luders' List, No. 1142 & 1144.                      4 Kielhorn's edn ; III, 307, 319

5 PHAI, p. 414 & 419.                      6 EI. VIII, 79 cf. The Daulatabad

plates of a Raṣṭrakūṭa king (EI. IX, 194, fn. 1.).                      7 EI. XIX, 93-4 lines 17-31.

8 EI. IX, 299.

9 The name occurs in the list of the Southern Division (No 80) The Barhut inscriptions mention Bhogavaḍham (Barua and Sinha, Barhut Ins. p. 15).

the eighth century A. D. it was included under the wider territorial division of Purī-Koṅkaṇa.<sup>1</sup> Another ancient *Viṣaya* of Nasik was Vaṭanagara which is mentioned in a Grant of Govinda III : *Nāsika-deśīya-Vaṭanagara-viṣayā*.<sup>2</sup> Vaṭanagara is identified with the modern Wani in the Dindori taluk of Nasik.

## 29. NARMADĀ.

The famous river of this name was known to Ptolemy as Namados.<sup>3</sup> The *Padma Purāṇa* says that it rises in the Amara-kaṇṭaka Mountain.<sup>4</sup> An inscription refers to *Narmadā-taṭa-maṇḍala* and its city Brāhmaṇapāṭaka.<sup>5</sup> The alternative name Revā, according to Weber, can be traced in the word Revottaras of the *Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa*.<sup>6</sup>

## 30. BHĀRUKACCHAS.

In a Buddhist Cave-inscription we have the form Bhārukachhakas, i.e. the inhabitants of Bhārukaccha.<sup>7</sup> In Sanskrit, the territorial name is Bhṛgukaccha which means 'high coast land', and survives in modern Broach, 30 miles from the sea on the north side of the Narmada. From the Pāli texts and from the author of Periplus (c. 80 A.D.), we know that in ancient times it was a trading town of great commercial importance. Ptolemy (c. 150 A. D.) knew it as Barygaza<sup>8</sup>, and Alberuni writes that Bhīroj (i.e. Bharukaccha) was the capital of Lārdeśh.<sup>9</sup> Damascenus speaks of a native of Barygosa, the Barygaza of the Greeks.<sup>10</sup> In the 'Life' it is stated that Hiuen Tsang reached the kingdom of *Po-lu-Kie-Chen-Po* (Barochi) going north west from Mahārāṣṭra<sup>11</sup> and the distance recorded points to Broach.<sup>12</sup> Of the inhabitants it is written that they boil the seawater to get salt, and their sole profit is from the sea.<sup>13</sup> From the Grant of the Gujara king Jayabhata<sup>14</sup>, it is known that in the 8th century A.D., Bharukaccha as a territorial name was the designation of a *Viṣaya*. The Plates of Buddharāja refer to the village of Kumārivaḍḍo (Karwara, some miles south-east from Baroda) in the Gorajjā-bhoga (modern Goraj) of the Bhārukaccha-*viṣaya*<sup>15</sup>, which shows that the *Viṣaya* included modern Baroda in the north.

<sup>1</sup> EI. XXV. 228, 230 & 234.

<sup>2</sup> IA. XI. 159 & 7 lines 39-40

<sup>3</sup> MT. p. 38.

<sup>4</sup> *Svarga*, 6, 22

<sup>5</sup> IA. XVIII. 83, lines 2, 3 & 8-11.

<sup>6</sup> Ved. Ind., II 226.

<sup>7</sup> Luders' List No. 1169.

<sup>8</sup> MT. p. 153

<sup>9</sup> AI. I. 205.

<sup>10</sup> Priault, op. cit. p. 78.

<sup>11</sup> BH. p. 147.

<sup>12</sup> YC, II, p. 241.

<sup>13</sup> BR, II, p. 259.

<sup>14</sup> EI. XXIII. 148.

<sup>15</sup> EI. VI. 295.

The *Kathā-S-Sāgara* states that there was a province called Vakakaccha on the bank of the Narmadā.<sup>1</sup>

### 31. MĀHEYAS

They were the people who dwelt on the banks of the river Mahi. It was known to Ptolemy as Mophis<sup>2</sup> 'which flows into the gulf of Khambat about 35 miles north from the estuary of the Narmada.' In the *Bhīṣma Parva* list of the *Mahābhārata* mention is made of Māhika and Māheya as two *janapadas*.<sup>3</sup>

### 32. SĀRASVATAS

This refers to the river Sarasvati which rising in Mt. Abu runs westward towards the Runn of Cutch.<sup>4</sup>

### 33. KACCHĪYAS

The Kaccha countries represented the water-logged portions of the sea-coast extending from the gulf of Cambay to Broach including the delta-areas of Sabarmati, Mahi and Narmada. Pāṇini's reference to country names ending in Kaccha<sup>5</sup> may refer to Dāru-Kaccha (Kathuawar)<sup>6</sup>, Pippalī-Kaccha (Rajpipla) and Bhṛgu-Kaccha (Broach). But Kaccha again is separately mentioned by Pāṇini as a *janapada*<sup>7</sup>, and is described as an *anusamudra dvīpa*.<sup>8</sup> This agrees with the reference to the Sāgaradvīpa in the *Mahābhārata*, the Sigerdis of Strabo. Both Cutch and Kathiawar originally seem to have been islands,<sup>9</sup> Cutch in particular is referred to in the lexicon of Hemachandra to illustrate what is *anupo'mvumān*, i.e. a tract of land near water.<sup>10</sup>

An inscription of V.S. 1086, refers to Kaccha-*maṇḍala*<sup>11</sup>, the Muhammadan writers know it as Kassa.<sup>12</sup> According to a Jaina work of the 12th century Kacch deśa was 32 kos from Sorath deśa, and it is further recorded, that the people used to wear a scarf in memory of a political victory.<sup>13</sup>

### 34. SURĀṢṬRAS

The name occurs in the *Mahābhārata* and in the *Jātakas*<sup>14</sup>. According to Kauṭilya, they formed a corporation of warriors<sup>15</sup> and lived

1 KSSR, I, p. 36, 40.

2 MT, p. 104.

3 Dr. D. C. Sircar connects it with the river Sarauti (IHQ. XXI, 310, fn.

89) This is clearly against the context.

4 IHQ. XXIV 177-178.

5 IV. 2. 136.

6 Daru being wood the name works as Kāṣṭha-Kaccha,

whence Kathiawar.

7 IV. 2. 133.

8 IV. 3. 10.

9 Periplus, p. 175.

10 Abhidhāna, p. 380, v. 19.

11 IA. VI. 193-4; XVIII. 109, L. 3.

12 DHNI, I, p. 7, fn. 5.

13 IA. IV. 74 & 77.

14 In the *Rāmāyaṇa* the name is given as

Saurāṣṭra (iv.42.6).

15 AS, p. 407.

by agriculture and trade. In the Dharma literature (4th century B. C.) the people are described as of mixed origin,<sup>1</sup> but an ancient tradition ascribes the origin of the Sauryas of Saurāṣṭra to a prince of the Solar race.<sup>2</sup> The Jaina *Upāṅga* called the *Prajñāpanā*, a book of considerable antiquity, includes 'Soriyaṁ Kusatṭhā' in a list of the *Āriyaṣ*.<sup>3</sup> There is of course no corroborating evidence to connect the Soryas with the people of Saurāṣṭra, but Kusatṭha mentioned as the city of the Soryas in the Jaina *Upāṅga*, may be the same as Kuśasthali or Dwārakā. Saurāṣṭrakas also find mention in the *Kāma-sūtra* of Vātsyāyana.<sup>4</sup>

As the sea-board of western India was frequented by Alexandrian merchants from very early times we have many foreign notices of the name. In the 'Periplus' Syrastrène is described as a wealthy country.<sup>5</sup> Hiuen Tsang recorded that the people of *Su-la-ch'a* derived their livelihood from the sea and were engaged in commerce and exchange of commodities.<sup>6</sup> The acquisition of this country noted for its wealth and fertility had always been the policy of the imperial dynasties of India.

In literature and inscriptions, both the forms Suratha and Surāṣṭra are employed to designate either the whole or the lower half of Kathiawar. The *Suratṭha-viśaya* of a Jaina work<sup>7</sup> refers to Kathiawar in general, and so also does Suratha of the Nasik record of queen Gautamī.<sup>8</sup> Suratha in the time of Hiuen Tsang was included in the Kingdom of Valabhi and perhaps corresponded to the lower half of Kathiawar excepting Bhavnagar, and extended up to the sea on the west. In the Junagadh Rock inscription of Rudradāman, the two ancient divisions of Kathiawar known as Ānarta and Surāṣṭra are mentioned. The Ānarta country obtained its name from an eponymous ancestor Ānarta, its chief city being Kuśasthali<sup>9</sup> or Dwārakā. This makes it equivalent to the Hālār division of Kathiawar.<sup>10</sup>

1 Baudhāyana Dhar. Sūt., I i. 32-33, ed. by E. Hultzsch, Dresden 1884, p. 3. 2 AR, XII, 93. 3 IA. XX. 375. 4 VKS, p. 300.

5 Sec. 41. p. 176. 6 YC, II, pp. 248-49. Hiuen Tsang said that Suratha lay to the west of Valabhi. It is difficult to understand how the chief city of Suratha bordered on the Mahi river on the west (BR, II. p. 269).

7 PHAI, p. 360. 8 EI. VIII. 61. See also EI. XXIV. 146, fn. and p. 147.

9 *Matsya Purāṇa*, 12.22; HV, i.10.33. The *Skanda Purāṇa* (ii.7.7.32) refers to the city of Bhūbara of Ānarta. In the *Bhāgavata Purāṇa* (i.10.35) Ānarta and Dwārakā are treated as synonymous. 10 For other views see PHAI, p. 424, fn. 3. Kuśasthali and Dvārāvati were two names of the same town lying under the shadow of the Raivataka or Gomanta hill (IHQ. X. 541 ff.).

Surāṣṭra was thus the name for the lower half of the peninsula. The Junagadh inscriptions prove that Junagadh was in the heart of ancient Surāṣṭra country.<sup>1</sup> The evidence of many other epigraphs of the Christian era indicates that Surāṣṭra was conterminous with the lower half of Kathiawar. Thus the Bantia plates (Valabhi Saṃvat 257=C. 573 A. D.) of Dharasena II mention Kaundinyapura (Koḍinār in S. Kathiawar) of Surāṣṭra<sup>2</sup>. In a Grant of Dharasena III of about the same age (Valabhi Saṃvat 304), mention is made of Hasta-vapra-āhāra i.e., modern Hātab in Bhavnagar state, of the Surāṣṭra-viśaya<sup>3</sup>. From the Jesar Plates of Śilāditya III ( 666-67 A. D. ), we learn that Kalāpaka-pathaka was included in the Surāṣṭra country : *Surāṣṭreṣu Ka(ā) lāpaka pathakā*.<sup>4</sup> The place name Kalāpaka-pathaka which is the modern 'Kālāvāḍa', 60 miles NW. of Porbandar, is also mentioned in the Bhavnagar Plates of Dharsena III referred to above.<sup>5</sup> Similarly, the inclusion of the southern extremity of Kathiawar within ancient Surāṣṭra is proved by an inscription of the Śaka year 1107 (=1185 A. D.) which refers to the temple of Somnātha of Saurāṣṭra-deśa : *Saurāṣṭrauya Śrīsomanūthadevāya*<sup>6</sup>. Another inscription of V. S. 1266 (=1208 A. D.) again refers to the inclusion of Vāmaṇasthalī i. e. modern Vanthali in the Junagadh State in Surāṣṭra-maṇḍala.<sup>7</sup> So Bhavnagar, Porbandar and Somnāth as noticed above, were the limits in three directions of the Surāṣṭra country in the mediaeval period.<sup>8</sup>

These observations indicate that Surāṣṭra and Ānarta both shared a portion of Junagadh.

1 Cf. The Junagadh inscription of Skandagupta (CII. III. 63, line 9).

2 EI. XXI. 179-80.

3 Ibid. 181-83, L. 28.

4 Ibid. 210, L. 49.

5 Ibid. 183, L. 30.

6 EI. XXIII. 277-78. L. 3.

7 IA. XVIII. 110-13, IV. 73.

8 For ĀVANTYAS (No. 35) see supra pp. 67 ff., and for ARBUDAS (No. 36) see supra pp. 96-97.

## CHAPTER VII

### THE EASTERN DIVISION

( See Chart No. VI )

The lists of this division are complete : the text of the *Brsam.* group seems to be correct and full and all the lists agree fairly well with one another. As many as five names of the text of the *Brsam.* group also occur in almost all the lists of the *Vā.* group. In the account of *Parāśara* most of the names of the *Bṛhat-saṁhitā* are enumerated ; but there are also insertions of new names which remain uncorroborated. The account of the *Mārka* (K), in the *Brsam.* group is defective because it omits many names of the *Brsam.* list and inserts new ones in their place. But the accounts of *Parāśara* and *Mārka* (K), taken together corroborate the list of the *Bṛhat-saṁhitā*. Thus Nos. 8, 9, 10 and 11 of the *Brsam.* list, which are omitted by *Parāśara* are mentioned by the *Mārka* (K), while Nos. 3, 6, 14, 15, 20, 25 and 26 of the *Brsam.* list which are omitted by the *Mārka* (K), are mentioned by *Parāśara*. The different lists of the *Vā.* group are also exhaustive and detailed. They have a large measure of agreement and form a complete version. There are insertions and slight tamperings here and there ; the result has been that the order has not been strictly uniform. The list of the *Nāṭyaśāstra* is fairly exhaustive. Though it follows a different order, almost all its names occur in the other lists of this division ; and the record on the whole is a valuable one and in many points an independent authority. Similar is the account of the *Kāvya-mīmāṃsā*. In fact, the lists of the *Kāvya-mīmāṃsā* and *Nāṭyaśāstra* do not follow any stereotyped order in the narration of names like the *Vā.* and *Brsam.* ; yet they lend considerable support to the version of the *Vā.* and the *Brsam.* texts, and hence they are manifestly of great importance. The accounts of the *Kūr.* and *Viṣ.* are of no use. The *Garuḍa's* account, though not exhaustive is not misleading. The *Vāmana's* list subject to some shortcomings is in close agreement with the text of the *Vā.* group. The number of ethnic names and countries given by the various lists of the two texts is shown below :

<i>Brsam.</i>	<i>Parāśara.</i>	<i>Mārka</i> (k).		<i>Vā.</i>	<i>Mat.</i>	<i>Mārka.</i>	<i>Br.</i>	<i>Vām.</i>	<i>Gad.</i>	<i>Nāṭya.</i>	<i>Kāvya.</i>
33	37	29		18	17	19	19	20	7	21	16.

As observed before, the whole list of the *Bṛhat-saṁhitā* may be included in this division which, therefore, means the inclusion of the list of *Parāśara* and *Mārka* (k), with the exception of those names in



the two accounts which do not occur in either of the remaining two lists of the group. The different lists of the Vā. group from a distinct version obviously differing from that of the Brsam. text. The number recorded are almost the same, and the order subject to some variations is in perfect harmony. Names common to the two texts, the Vā. and the Brsam. are five, while others are distinctly new. This independent account of the Vā. group begins with the Andhra-vākas of the Vā. and Mārka. lists and proceeds in the same order and number up to the Gomantas, (No. 18) with this variation that the Vā. does not mention the Bhārgavas and Madras. As pointed out before, the Br. follows the Mārka. the only difference being the variant readings of some four names which, however, appear to be mistaken readings of the same word and not new entries. The list of *Matsya* is manifestly defective for the simple reason that it differs from the Vā. It has another very serious defect namely, that the order has been changed. It begins to record not with the Andhras like the other accounts of its group, but with the Āngas, a people who are fifth in the order. The *Vāmana* conforms to the text of the Vā. group in the same order and form, with very slight variations. The whole list of the Vā. may therefore, be admitted into this division.

The following ethnic names and countries belonged to the Eastern Division according to the text of the Brsam. group :—

- (1) Añjana-Giri, (2) Vṛṣabhadhvaja-Giri, (3) Padma-Giri,
- (4) Mālyavat-Giri, (5) Vyāghramukhas, (6) Suhmas, (7) Karvaṭas,
- (8) Cāndrapuras, (9) Śūrpakarṇas, (10) Khasas, (11) Magadhas,
- (12) Śibira-Giri, (13) Mithilā or Videhas, (14) Samataṭa, (15) Uḍras<sup>1</sup>,
- (16) Aśvavadanas, (17) Danturakas, (18) Prāg-Jyotiṣas, (19) Lauhi-
- tyas, (20) Kṣīroda-Samudra<sup>2</sup>, (21) Puruṣādas<sup>3</sup>, (22) Udaya-Giri,

<sup>1</sup> They are not mentioned by the Mārka (k), (See chart), but Dr. Kirfel puts the Śubhras of Mārka (k). against the Udras (DKDI, p. 82). Śubhra perhaps represents Śibira-giri of the Brsam. list (No. 12), as shown in the chart.

<sup>2</sup> Kern divides the name into two parts, Kṣīroda and Samudra, but the two should be combined together making it Kṣīroda-Samudra—a reading which occurs in Parāśara text. The Mārka (k), does not mention this name, yet Dr. Kirfel shows that the Mārka (k), refers to Samudra (No. 18) as representing Kṣīroda of the Brsam. list (DKDI, p. 82).

<sup>3</sup> Pargiter combines the two names Samudra and Puruṣāda into one, and translates it as 'Cannibals who dwell on the sea coast'. This is erroneous, for there is no connection between the two (MP, p. 357). Samudra is clearly a part of the name in No. 20. This is also supported by Parāśara.

(23) Bhadrās, (24) Gauḍakas<sup>1</sup>, (25) Pauṇḍras, (26) Utkalās, (27) Kāśīs, (28) Mekalās, (29) Ambaṣṭhas<sup>2</sup>, (30) Ekapadas (31) Tāmaliptikas (32) Kośalakas, (33) Vardhamāna.

According to the text of the Vā. group the following belonged to this division :—

(34) Andhras<sup>3</sup>, (35) Mudgaras, (36) Antargiryas, (37) Vahīrgiryas, (38) Aṅgas<sup>4</sup>, (39) Vaṅgas<sup>5</sup>, (40) Maladas, (41) Mālavārttikas,<sup>6</sup> (42) Brahmottaras<sup>7</sup>, (43) Pravijayas<sup>8</sup>, (44) Jñeyamarthakas<sup>9</sup>, (45) Mallas, (46) Gomantas<sup>10</sup>, (47) Bhārgavas, (48) Madras.<sup>11</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Pargiter (Ibid. p. 357) takes the name Bhadra as adjective to the Gauḍas, but other texts show that they are to be treated as two different names. We have already discussed the Bhadrās as a people of the Central Division (See supra pp. 22 ff).

<sup>2</sup> Pargiter's suggestion that (Ibid. 358) they refer to the one and the same people namely 'Mekalāmbaṣṭhas' is not borne out by the evidence of the other texts.

<sup>3</sup> This is a famous name of Indian ethnography. 'Vaka' of Alberuni (AI, I. 299) is in reality a suffix of Andhra. <sup>4</sup> Except only the Vām. and the Vā. which read *Pravaṅga*, all other accounts have the reading Aṅga, and since the two texts in question put *Pravaṅga* in the same order and setting, as in other texts, i.e. after the Vahīrgiryas and before the Vaṅgas, it becomes clear that Aṅga and Pravaṅga were considered identical. The tabulation also shows that the Vām. records Aṅga (No. 1), by which it means *Pravaṅga* (No. 6). The word *Pravaṅga* may also be a mistaken reading of the name Aṅgas as the Br. reads clearly : *Tathā pare Aṅgā*, i.e. after them are the Aṅgas. Again, if the word *Pravaṅga* stands for a separate name it might refer to the people who were living to the west of the Vaṅgas i.e. the Aṅgas (For a different meaning, see HAIB, p. 85 ; MP, p. 325). Dr. D. C. Sircar shows *Pravaṅga* to be a separate name altogether (IHQ XXI. 305, fn. 49).

<sup>5</sup> It is also read as Vāṅgeyas. <sup>6</sup> The name has been widely corrupted, the reading accepted here is suggested by the variants of the name, and is also indirectly supported by the text of the *Kāvyaṁimāṁsā* and *Nāṭyaśāstra*.

<sup>7</sup> Dr. B. C. Law thinks that the name is Suhmottara (TAI, p. 391) but the name Brahmottara is known to us from other sources.

<sup>8</sup> P. C. Sen suggests (IHQ. VIII. 534) that the reading should be Prabhr̥tayah as in the *Nāṭyaśāstra*. But all the Purāṇas fairly agree in the reading taken. The other suggestion that the name is Śrīvijaya i.e. mod. Palembang in Sumatra (IHQ, XXI. 306) is pure conjecture.

<sup>9</sup> It is impossible to restore the original name for all the texts seem to have blundered in this entry. Alberuni's confusion about these words is even more worse (op. cit.). For the variants noted by Dr. Kirfel, see DKDI, p. 74. Also, see IHQ. XXI, 306, fn. 53.

<sup>10</sup> The reading Gonarda though very probable (IHQ. XXI. 306, fn. 56) does not agree with the context.

<sup>11</sup> Kalinga and Nepala are not mentioned by the texts of the Brsam. group and the Vā. group in this division ; they are included in this division only by the *Kāvyaṁimāṁsā* and *Nāṭyaśāstra* texts. So the names are not shown here.

1. AÑJANA-*giri*.

This one, and the three hills following, seem to be misplaced here. Dr. Agarwala says that Sālvakā-*giri* (Hālā range), Añjanā-*giri* (Sulaiman mountain with its triple chain called Trikakuṭṭ), Bhañjanā-*giri* (Koh-i-Bābā), Lohitā-*giri* (Hindu kush), Kukkuṭā-*giri* (low peaks in the crest of Afghanistan), as mentioned in the *Gaṇapāṭha* represented the chain of mountains running from Afghanistan to Baluchistan. We have, in this text of the Brsam. group, Añjana-*giri* followed by Vṛṣabhadhvaja, Padma and Mālyavat-*giri* (No. 4), the last one being identical with Mālāvat of Patañjali (II. 287) corresponding to Malākanda, the mountainous district of Dargai in Swat<sup>1</sup>. Evidently in this set of names, which the *Bṛhat-saṃhitā* has adopted from the geographical tradition known to Pāṇini, we have a reference to the mountains of the west rather than of the east. This is an instance of how geographical traditions, owing to their transmission through ages, have suffered corruptions. Vṛṣabhadhvaja-*giri* and Padma-*giri* are not known to be mountains of the east though local hills of such names existed.<sup>2</sup>

## 6. SUHMAS.

They are a well-known people of antiquity and are mentioned in all kinds of texts. According to the Jaina *Kalpa Sūtra* Subbabhūmi is said to have been visited by Mahāvīra.<sup>3</sup> The Jaina *Bhagavatī-sūtra* mentions Sambhuttara<sup>4</sup> which perhaps stands for the northern Suhma country. The people and a branch of them called Pra Suhmas appear in the *Mahābhārata*.<sup>5</sup> The citation of the name Suhma in the *Mahābhāṣya* of Patañjali<sup>6</sup> shows that it was well-known in the 2nd century B. C. In a Jātaka story mention is made of the Sumbha town Desaka.<sup>7</sup> The name Suhma occurs in the work of Bāṇabhaṭṭa (*Harṣa-carita*) and in the *Pavanadūta* by Dhoyīka (12th century A. D.); in the latter work Suhma is placed on the bank of the Ganges.<sup>8</sup> The Suhma country was situated near the sea-coast :

1 IHQ. XXIX. 5-7.

2 Vṛṣabhaśṛṅga was one of the hills of Girivraja (Mbh ; ii.21.2). The *Agni Purāṇa* refers to a Padma country of the east (IHQ. IX. 475). See also KSSR, I, p. 152. The VYĀGRAMUKHAS (No. 5) were a mythical people.

3 SBE, Book I, Chap. 8. Sec. 3; SBE, XXII, 1.8.3, pp. 84-85.

4 Supra p. 31, fn. 1.                      5 ii. 30. 16.                      6 IV. 2. 52.

7 CJ, I, p. 232. The *Saṃyutta Nikāya* makes mention of the Sumbha country, and its town Setaka or Sedak\* (PT. V, pp. 89 and 168-70, V. 89).

\* JASB, 1905, pp. 46, 57.

*Suhmānāma-dhīpañcaiva ye ca sāgarūnūpavāsinaḥ*.<sup>1</sup> In the *Daśa-kumāra-carita*<sup>2</sup>, *Dāmalīpta*, i. e. *Tāmralīpta* is stated to have been a city of Suhma. These allusions bear out that Suhma corresponded to a littoral portion of Bengal, possibly the modern Midnapore district, having had an extensive sea-board which made Tamruk a trading port of considerable importance.

But Suhma undoubtedly comprehended a wide region. Nilakaṇṭha comments that Suhma and Rāḍha were synonymous terms.<sup>3</sup> This may not be strictly correct so far as the early geographical position of Suhma is concerned, for according to a tradition preserved in the Jaina *Āchārāṅga sūtra*<sup>4</sup>, one of the oldest books of the Jains, Lāḍha (Rāḍha) is said to have been divided into two parts, Subbhabhūmi and Vajjabhūmi. Subbhabhūmi of the Jaina works is the same as Suhmabhūmi (land of the Suhmas) and responds to Sumbha of the *Jātaka* story. The natural presumption is that Suhma was a part of Rāḍha in very early times, perhaps only its southern portion, and corresponded to the modern districts of Howrah and Midnapore.<sup>5</sup> Dr. H. C. Ray Chaudhury says that the Trivenī-Saptagrāma area in the Hooghly district was in the heart of the Suhma country.<sup>6</sup> Rāḍha was thus a name of considerable antiquity as it was known to early Jaina tradition as Lāḍha, and was plausibly the geographical equivalent of *Lāḍa-rattha* of the Ceylonese Chronicles.<sup>7</sup> Rājasekhara

<sup>1</sup> Mbh., ii. 30.25. cf. Raghu, iv. 34 and 35.

<sup>2</sup> Ch. vi, p. 244, ed. by Jivananda Vidyaśagara. <sup>3</sup> Commentary on Mbh., ii. 30.16. The lexicographer Yādavaprakāśa also identifies Rāḍha with Suhma (VJN, p. 37, v. 30). <sup>4</sup> SBE, XXII, 1, 8, 3, pp. 84-85.

<sup>5</sup> P. C. Sen, IHQ. VIII. 527. The other division Vajjabhūmi cannot be satisfactorily identified. N. L. De, equates it with Vijayabhūmi (IHQ. IV. 44-45) and identifies the latter with the modern districts of Manbhum and Singhbhum. Dr. B. C. Sen thinks that it was a synonym for Virabhūmi or Birbhum (HAIB, pp. 49-55). Dr. H. C. Ray Chaudhury connects it with Sarkar of Madāran in south-west Bengal mentioned in the *Ain-i-Akbari* which was equivalent to parts of the modern Birbhum, Burdwan and Hooghly districts (DUHB, p. 9). Another writer says that Vajjabhūmi is the same as Vanjabhūmi and identifies the place with Mayurbhanj. The Lāḍhas according to the same writer were a hill tribe of Dhalbhum, Singhbhum, Mayurbhanj and Bamra (JAHS. II. 91-92. See JBORS, March, 1927). <sup>6</sup> DUHB, p. 10. For Saptagrāma, see R. D. Banerji in JASB. 1909, pp. 245 ff. <sup>7</sup> IA, XIII. 36.

The subject is discussed at great length by Dr. B. C. Sen (HAIB, pp. 46-49). Also see K. S. S. Sengar, in IHQ. III. whose conclusion is that it was Rāḍha and not Lāḍa. Dr. H. C. Ray Chaudhury identifies Rāḍha of Sanskrit records with Lāḍa of Pāli chronicles and Lāḍha of the Jaina *Sūtras* (DUHB, p. 39).

mentions both Suhma (*Kāvyamīmāṃsā*) and Rāḍha (*Karpūramañjarī*), but the use of the former was perhaps discontinued at a later age and Rāḍha used instead. In Somadeva's *Kathā-S-Sāgara*<sup>1</sup> mention is made only of Rāḍha, but not of Suhma.

The variants of the name Tāmralipta are many<sup>2</sup> and both forms of the name (ethnic and territorial) are found in all texts. It was the greatest port of call and the different missions between India and Ceylon embarked and disembarked there. In the *Mahābhārata* it is called a *Pattana*.<sup>3</sup> Tāmralipta also finds mention in the Geography of Ptolemy (C. 150 A. D.) as Tamalites. In authentic history, too, it appears as a port, whence the Chinese pilgrim Fa hien took ship to Ceylon. In Hiuen Tsang's time *Tan-mo-lih-ti* (Tāmralipta) was about 1400 or 1500 li in circuit,<sup>4</sup> which refers to the Suhma country; for Hiuen Tsang usually designates a country by the name of its city. He said that the country was formed by (or in) a recess of the sea—the water and the land embracing each other. The people were rich as wonderful articles of value and gems were collected there. The capital city of the same name which was washed by the sea indicates, that Tāmralipta which is also commonly used as the name of a city, stood near the ocean in the 7th century A. D. In the *Kathā-S-Sāgara* (11th century), it is stated that Tāmralipta stood on the shore of the eastern sea<sup>5</sup>, and was inhabited by rich merchants and honourable men.<sup>6</sup>

But Tāmralipti<sup>7</sup> may have been important enough to be regarded as a separate kingdom in the period of the *Mahābhārata*, although it formed a part of Vaṅga and Suhma, according to Jaina writers and Daṇḍin respectively. A passage makes separate mention of Tāmra-

1 KSSR, II, p. 216, 228. 2 S. Levi, *Pre-Aryan and Pre-Dravidian India*, trans. by P. Bagchi, p. 116, ff; HAIB, pp. 40 ff. See also *Abhidhāna*, p. 391, v. 45; and TKS, p. 31. 3 Mbh (B), i. 179.13. A *Pattana* is a town on the confluence of some rivers which had a royal seat (JBORS, 1916, II, pp. 48 ff.).

4 YC, II, p. 189; BR, II, p. 201.

5 KSSR, II, p. 265; I, p. 139. In the same work mention is made of other such cities situated on the border of the sea from which distant oceanic voyages were undertaken. They are—Viṭṭanapura (I, pp. 206-207, 225), Putrapura (I, p. 489, 491), Sāgarapura (I, pp. 510-11), Jalapura (I, p. 551). Cf. also *Velū-Kulān Tāmaliptan* (TKS, p. 31).

6 KSSR, II, p. 248.

7 This form is found in the Dudhpani Rock inscription (EI. II. 344) of the 8th century. For Tāmralipta see HAIB, pp. 38-43.

lipta, Karvāṭa, and Suhma<sup>1</sup>. These three names occur much in the same setting in our text. Karvāṭa (No. 7) is an unfamiliar name but its grouping and the context clearly suggest that it was another city of Suhma, just as Tāmralipta was, and presumably a centre of the Jaina faith.<sup>2</sup> Dr. H. C. Ray Chaudhury is inclined to identify the Karvāṭas with the Kharwars of West Bengal.<sup>3</sup>

#### 8. CĀNDRAPURAS

The position of Candrapura is uncertain. There are many localities of this name in the eastern part of India. Six miles to the east of Deoghar there is a place called Cāndpur full of Jaina and Brahmanical ruins.<sup>4</sup> Such a location satisfies the conditions in a general way. J. C. Ghosh pointed out that the '*Śrīmatottara-tantra*' makes mention of a Chandrapura of Candradvīpa. He connected Candrapura of the Tantra text with the place of this name mentioned in the *Bṛhat-saṁhitā*, and Phandradvīpa of the Copper-plate Grant of Viśvarūpasena, and was of opinion that it was the same as the modern Chandpur of the Tipperah district.<sup>5</sup> But as Candrapura of our text is placed between Karvāṭa and Magadha it has to be located somewhere between Bengal and Behar.<sup>6</sup>

#### 11. MAGADHAS

The name of the people is one of the most famous in Indian ethnography. 'Kīkaṭa' which finds mention in the *R̥gveda* was the oldest name of Magadha, for the evidence of later literature makes Magadha identical with Kīkaṭa.<sup>7</sup> Though derisively mentioned in the Vedic texts,<sup>8</sup> a Jaina *Upāṅga* refers to Magadha in a group of the Āriyas, and even records that Rājagīha was the chief city of the Magadhas. The accounts of the *Rāmāyaṇa* and the *Mahābhārata* differ regarding the origin of the Magadha kingdom,<sup>9</sup> but

<sup>1</sup> Mbh., ii. 30.21 ff. Similarly Rājasekhara makes separate mention of Suhma and Tāmraliptaka (Kāvya, p. 93).

<sup>2</sup> IHQ. VIII. 529-530. <sup>3</sup> DUHB. p. 9, fn. 1. <sup>4</sup> AR. X. 93.

<sup>5</sup> IHQ. IV. 641-42. <sup>6</sup> The ŚŪRPAKARṆAS (No. 9) were a mythical people, for KHASAS (No. 10) see supra p. 128.

<sup>7</sup> PHAI, p. 95, fn. 5, p. 96. Abhidhāna, p. 383; TKS. p. 31, *Vaijayantī* (VJN, p. 37, v. 31). For Kīkaṭa see also HAIB, p. 3, fn. 5; TAI, p. 387.

<sup>8</sup> Samaddar, *Glories of Magadha*, pp. 5 ff; B. C. Law, *Ancient Indian Tribes*, 1926, p. 93, and pp. 112 ff; Ved. Ind., II. 116-18; ABORI. VIII. 159 ff. Dr. B. C. Sen observes that Magadha was an important stronghold of the *Vrātyas* (HAIB, pp. 5 ff.).

<sup>9</sup> MP, p. 330.

both agree in stating that Girivraja was the original capital, which is thus in accord with the Jaina tradition noted above. Girivraja-nagara of the *Mahābhārata*<sup>1</sup> is also designated as Māgadha-pura<sup>2</sup> and Bārhadratha-pura<sup>3</sup>, while according to the *Rāmāyaṇa* its other name was Vasumatī named after the founder of Girivraja<sup>4</sup>. The Chinese name of the city such as the *Kiu-she-kie-lo-pu-lo* (Kusāgarapura or "the royal city of best grass") of Hiuen Tsang<sup>5</sup>, and the name Bimbasa-sāra-purī of Buddhist writers<sup>6</sup> were obtained from the name of early Magadhan Princes. Girivraja is the same as Rājagṛha or modern Rajgir surrounded by hills in the Bihar subdivision of Patna. Rājagṛha figures prominently in the Pāli texts. Down to the time of Buddha it was considered as one of the six great cities of India<sup>7</sup>, and in a Buddhist lexicon Rājagaha is placed in a list of twenty ancient cities.<sup>8</sup>

The name of the famous capital of Magadha, Pāṭaliputra occurs in the annals of classical writers as Palibothra, the capital of the Prasii which is the Greek form of Palāsa or Parāsa a well-known name of Magadha<sup>9</sup>. It was a large wealthy city situated where the streams of the Erannobaos and the Ganges unite.<sup>10</sup> The position of Magadha is indicated in a passage of the *Mahābhārata*, which places it to the east of the confluence of the Ganges and the Son.<sup>11</sup> The *Rāmāyaṇa* obviously refers the river Son in the statement that the river Māgadhi encircles Magadha like a garland.<sup>12</sup>

Ancient Magadha embraced the country bounded on the north by

<sup>1</sup> i. 204. 17; ii. 30. 17.

<sup>2</sup> ii. 20. 30.

<sup>3</sup> ii. 24. 44.

<sup>4</sup> i. 32. 7-8.

<sup>5</sup> BR, II, p. 149. In a Buddhist chronicle the *Ārya-Maṇjuśrī-mūlakaḥ* Kuśāgarapura is mentioned as a city of the Magadhas (AMKLP, p. 597, v. 2).

<sup>6</sup> PHAI, p., 95, fn. 2.

<sup>7</sup> Supra p. 41, fn. 12.

<sup>8</sup> Supra p. 41, fn. 11.

<sup>9</sup> In the *Śabda-Kalpadruma*, Palāsa is given as a name of Magadha (III, p. 1984). But the Gk. Prasii, according to some scholars responds to the Skt. Prācyā (Wilson, *Theatre of the Hindus*, II, p. 135; JASB. 1845, p. 147), and indeed, Magadha which is indicated to have been in the Prasii territory was a Prācyā country.

<sup>10</sup> MM, pp. 141, 210-14, fn. Cunningham says that the Erannobaos is the same as the Son both as to name and position (CAGI, p. 520). The Gk. name is equated with Hiranyavāha or Hiranyavahā (Erannobaos) which according to Indian tradition was the name of the Śoṇa (Abhidhāna, p. 162). So Sonus and Erannobaos were not two distinct rivers as mentioned by Arrian and Megasthenes.

<sup>11</sup> ii. 20. 27-29.

<sup>12</sup> i. 32. 8-9.

the river Ganges, on the west by the river Son, on the east by Aṅga, and on the south by a dense forest.<sup>1</sup> The Chinese traveller Hiuen Tsang testifies to the fertility of the soil of Magadha and records that the people were simple and honest and were highly learned.<sup>2</sup> In the *Kathā-S-Sāgara*, Pāṭaliputra is frequently mentioned as a seat of learning.<sup>3</sup>

During the Pāla period some portions of Magadha were constituted into a *Bhukti* known as Śrīnagara-*bhukti*. Its *Viṣayas* so far known were Gayā-*viṣaya*<sup>4</sup>, Krimilā-*viṣaya*<sup>5</sup> and Rājagṛha-*viṣaya*<sup>6</sup>. The Śrīnagara-*bhukti* comprehended the entire Patna division of modern times, which as a district included Rājgir and as a division, Gaya, and consequently embraced a considerable portion of Magadha. We have also reference to Magadha-*viṣaya* which included Nālandā.<sup>7</sup> Evidently, Magadha-*viṣaya* was a part of the Śrīnagara-*bhukti*.<sup>8</sup>

## 12. ŚIBIRA-GIRI

Its identity is not very clear. Is it to be connected with the Śivi settlement in the mountain district of Seweya<sup>9</sup>, situated a few miles south or south-east of Kasia ?

## 13. MITHILĀ

Mithilā was the famous capital of the ancient kingdom of Videha. In the *Mahāgovinda Suttanta* of the *Dīgha Nikāya*, Videha, with its capital Mithilā, is treated as one of the seven political divisions of India then existing.<sup>10</sup> According to the *Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa*, Videha was separated from Kośala by the river Sadānīrā. The river is usually identified with the river Gandak which joins the Ganges opposite Patna,<sup>11</sup> and forms the western boundary of the Muzaffarpur district. The contiguity of the Videha country to the river Gandak is perhaps implied in such combinations as : *Gaṇḍakīyāṁśca Videhā-mśca*.<sup>12</sup> The southern boundary was evidently the Ganges. The ancient Videha country included the modern districts of Champaran,

1 CH. I. 182.

2 BR, II, p. 83; BH. p. 101.

3 KSSR, II, p. 115.

4 EI. XXIII. 290. The Gaya stone inscription dated in the 5th year of king Vigrahapāla refers to Gayā-*maṇḍala*.

5 EI. XVIII. 306, v. 30.

6 EI. XVII. 324.

7 DENI, I, p. 346.

8 Dr. H. C. Ray Chaudhury says that Magadha-*viṣaya* was only a part of Magadha-*bhukti* (DUHB, p. 23).

9 Supra p. 92.

10 Supra p. 49. fn. 10.

11 IG. XVIII. 94. For the river Sadānīrā and its identity with Rapti, see supra. p. 63 and fn. 6.

12 Mbh., ii. 29. 4.



Muzaffarpur and Darbhanga, i. e., Tirhut<sup>1</sup>, and presumably also a portion of Purnea, if the eastern limit was the river Kausaki (Kosi). This agrees with a statement of the *Brhat Viṣṇu-Purāṇa* which is as follows : Videha extended from the river Gaṇḍak to the river Kauśiki and from the Ganges to the Himalayas.<sup>2</sup> Early Jaina writers knew Mithilā to be the capital of the Videhas<sup>3</sup>. In the *Jātakas*<sup>4</sup> and in the epic<sup>5</sup> we have references to Mithilā as the capital of Videha.

The *Mahābhārata* describes it as :—*Gopurātṭālakavatīm harmmya prākāraśobhanām*, and as containing : *Paiṇyaśca bahubhīryuktām subibhakta mahāpathān*<sup>6</sup>. The Buddhist lexicon *Abhidhānappadīpikā* places Mithilā in a list of twenty ancient cities of India. Like other capital cities Mithilā might have grown in extent and power, as Hemacandra records : *Videhā mithilā same*.<sup>7</sup>

Mithilā, which has been identified with the small town of Janakpur within the Nepal border was, according to tradition, named after the second king Mithi Janaka of the Videha dynasty<sup>8</sup>. The kings of Mithilā were styled Mithilas.<sup>9</sup> The *Bhāgavata* refers to the Maithilas in general and says that they were skilled in the knowledge of the Ātman.

It is to be observed that while Brahmanical tradition makes Videha a kingdom of early times, in the Buddha's time it was a republic. The Videhas along with the Licchavis, Jñātrikas, Ugras, Bhogas and others were some of the constituent confederate clans (*atthakula*)

1 The lexioographer Yādevaprakāśa identifies Videha with Tirabhukti (VJN. p. 37, v. 30) which is also supported by Puruṣottomadeva who adds that Nicchavi (Licchavi), Videha and Tirabhukti are synonymous terms (TKS, p.31). But the Licchavi country probably formed a part of Tirabhukti and not its equivalent. A descriptive picture label of a certain illustrated manuscript dated 1015 A. D. which has a reference to this runs thus : *Tirabhuktiau Vaiśālī-tārū* (F1B, I, p 197, No. 43 and also No. 65). Tirhut corresponds to Muzaffarpur and Darbhanga districts and perhaps parts of Monghyr in the Pāla period when it was known as Tira-bhukti. It had within it a *Viṣaya* called Kakṣa-viṣaya (IA. XV. 309, lre 24). In a late Buddhist work the *Ārya-mañjuśrī-mūlakaḥ* the position of Tirabhukti is thus defined : *Gaṅgāyāṁ uttaratīre Tirabhukti pati stādā* (AMKLP, p. 282, v. 13a). See also History of Tirhoot by S. N. Singha, Baptist Mission Press, Calcutta.

2 TAI, p. 239.

3 IA XX 375.

4 No. 264, CJ, II, p. 231.

5 Mbh; iii. 206. 6 ff.

6 Mbh., iii. 206. 6-9.

7 Abhidhāna, p. 389., TKS, p. 32.

8 AHT, pp. 95-96.

9 In an inscription we have the form Mithi-

las (EI. I, 132, vs. 23).

the Vajjis.<sup>1</sup> But of these the Licchavis and the Videhas were the most important, and the Licchavi capital Vesālī was the head-quarter of the powerful Vajjian confederation.<sup>2</sup> The Vajjis or Vṛjis are mentioned by Pāṇini;<sup>3</sup> Hiuen Tsang refers to the territorial name Vṛji in his *Fu-li-chih*<sup>4</sup> which was above 4000 li in circuit.

#### 14. SAMATAṬA

Earliest mention of Samataṭa is found in the Allahabad Pillar inscription of Samudragupta, where it is grouped with Davāka and Kāmarūpa as one of the border states.<sup>5</sup> This *Pratyanta-Rājya* or the frontier realm evidently lay outside the limits of Samudragupta's empire, which in the east seems to have been bounded by the line of the Brahmaputra river. The main stream of the old Brahmaputra, after skirting along the western side of the Garo Hills, flowed through Mymensingh and the eastern part of the Dacca district<sup>6</sup> and was joined in its lower course by the Meghnā<sup>7</sup> (Meghavāhana)<sup>8</sup>; the combined waters added with the stream of the Padmā forming a mighty estuary.<sup>9</sup> This mighty estuary, one of the greatest of world's waterways, easily formed a remarkable natural barrier and as such might have formed the eastern limit of Samudragupta's empire. Consequently, Assam, portions of Mymensingh and Dacca districts, and the whole of Tipperah and Noakhali districts are indicated to have been known as the Eastern *Pratyanta-rājya* of the 4th century A. D. This is the geographical background of Samataṭa and its

<sup>1</sup> Rhys Davids, *Buddhist India*, pp. 25-26.

<sup>2</sup> *Ibid.* 40.

<sup>3</sup> IV. 2. 131.

<sup>4</sup> YC, II, p. 81.

<sup>5</sup> CII. III. 13. Mention is made of Samataṭa in the *Atharva Parīṣiṣṭa* (JBORS. 1919, p. 39) which is a late work.

<sup>6</sup> DUHB. pp. 4-5.

<sup>7</sup> In the 18th century in the time of Major Rennell the confluence of the Meghnā with the Brahmaputra was near the village of Bhyrab Bazar in the Mymensing district. But the Jamuna which joins the Padma near Goalundo, is now the main channel of the Brahmaputra. For the river course of ancient Bengal see Dr. R. C. Majumdar, 'Physical Features' of Ancient Bengal (Dr. D. R. Bhandarkar, Volume, pp. 341-364). W. W. Hunter, *A Statistical Account of Bengal*.

<sup>8</sup> DD, p. 130.

<sup>9</sup> Dr. N. K. Bhaṭtasali identified the Padmā with the Antibole course of the Ganges as mentioned by Ptolemy (*Antiquity of the Lower Ganges and its courses*, *Science & Culture*, VII, 1941, pp. 233-39) Dr. D. C. Sircar suggests that the present Bhāgīrathī carried the main current of the Ganges as late as the seventh century A. D. (IHQ, XXVIII, 125).

connotative meaning the 'Shore Country', or 'Level Country'<sup>1</sup> agrees well with the physical features of the area outlined.

It thus stands that Samatāṭa in the Gupta period denoted a territory lying to the east of the Brahmaputra. In the traditional texts under review Samatāṭa is distinguished from Vaṅga (Eastern Division, No. 39). The Ashrafpur Plates of Devakhaḍga (7th century A. D.) refers to the royal residence as Karmānta, which has been identified by Dr. N. K. Bhattasali with modern Baḍkāmtā in the district of Tipperah, 12 miles to the west of the Comilla town.<sup>2</sup> As Rājarājabhaṭṭa of the Khaḍga dynasty, referred to in the Ashrafpur Plates, is generally identified with Rājabhaṭṭa of Samatāṭa mentioned in I-tsing's account, it may be conjectured that in the later part of the seventh century A. D. (date of the Khaḍga kings)<sup>3</sup> Samatāṭa comprised the Tipperah district. These are some grounds which indicate that the position of Samatāṭa during the centuries following Samudragupta remained unchanged. It is in this light that we can interpret Hiuen Tsang's accounts of Samatāṭa whose descriptions also answer to the time of the Ashrafpur Plates,—the age of Rājarājabhaṭṭa being not far removed from that of Hiuen Tsang.

Hiuen Tsang visited the country of *San-mo-ta-ta* (Samatāṭa), and the bearing south, and the distance 1,200, or 1,300 li south of Kāmarūpa, as recorded by the pilgrim<sup>4</sup>, roughly agrees with the distance between the districts of Kamrup and Tipperah<sup>5</sup>. In his time it bordered on the great sea and was about 3000 li i.e. about 500 English miles in circuit. This area is equivalent to the whole level land bounded by the Garo and Khasi Hills on the north, the hills

<sup>1</sup> Cf. *Samāsthali* of Abhidhāna, p. 379. In the *Vaijayanī* of Yādava-prakāśa Samatāṭa is made identical with Bhaurika (VJN, p. 37, v. 31).

<sup>2</sup> EI. XVII. 353, fn; JASB. 1914, pp. 85 ff. Dr. R. C. Majumdar doubts this identification but does not suggest any other suitable alternative (DUHB. p. 87). <sup>3</sup> DUHB. p. 87.

<sup>4</sup> YC, II, p. 187; BR, II, p. 199; BH, p. 132.

<sup>5</sup> While going to Samatāṭa Hiuen Tsang might have followed the circuitous course of the old Brahmaputra river and so was unable to make a proper estimate of the actual distance. If, however, he travelled 1250 li he covered 250 miles—a distance which is slightly in excess of the actual distance that separated the two districts. That 5 li is equal to one mile is evident from the recorded distance of Tamruk and Karṇāsuvārṇa which is put at 700 li (YC, II, p. 192) i. e. 140 miles. The distance between Murshidabad and Tamruk is 120 miles as the crow flies and hence the actual road distance is 120 + 20 (1/6 of 120) = 140 miles.

of Tipperah and Chittagong on the east, the Bay of Bengal on the south, and the old course of the lower Brahmaputra river on the west. Geographically it is a perfectly natural unit<sup>1</sup> and satisfies all conditions etymological and physical. Dr. H. C. Ray Chaudhury and Dr. R. C. Majumdar have adopted the theory that in Hiuen Tsang's time Samatāṭa included even a considerable portion of Central Bengal in addition to Tipperah.<sup>2</sup> Dr. R. C. Majumdar is even more specific and states that the western boundary of Samatāṭa was formed by the modern Gorai and Madhumati rivers. He also refers to the old identification of Samatāṭa with the delta of the Ganges which had for its chief city the site of modern Jessore as proposed by Cunningham. The main argument in support of the inclusion of a portion of lower Bengal within the boundaries of Samatāṭa rests upon the distance from Samatāṭa to Tāmralipti as recorded by the Chinese pilgrim. From Samatāṭa the "pilgrim journeyed west for over 900 li to Tāmralipti".<sup>3</sup>

The provenance of the Samatāṭa inscriptions now may be indicated. Samatāṭa is mentioned in the Bhagalpur Grant of Nārāyanapāla.<sup>4</sup> The Bāghāurā (Tipperah district) image inscription of the time of Mahīpāla<sup>5</sup>, the Nārāyanpur (Tipperah district) image (Gaṇeśa) inscription of the 4th regnal year of Mahīpāladeva which refers to Vili-kandhaka in Samatāṭa<sup>6</sup>, and the Mehar (Chandpur) Copper-plate of Dāmodaradeva dated in 1234 A. D.<sup>7</sup> which mentions Samatāṭa-maṇḍala prove the inclusion of Tipperah within Samatāṭa<sup>8</sup>. Further, the Kailan inscription of Samatāṭeśvara Śrīdharaṇa Rāta (second half of the 7th cent.) definitely proves that one of the provincial headquarters of Samatāṭa was Devaparvata which was certainly the name of a spur of the Mayanāmatī hills situated midway between Comilla

<sup>1</sup> EI. XVII. 353.      <sup>2</sup> DUHB. p. 17; p. 85, fn. 4, and map facing p. 16.      <sup>3</sup> YO, II. p. 189.      <sup>4</sup> IA. XV. 304 ff.      <sup>5</sup> EI. XVII. 353.

<sup>6</sup> DUHB. page on 'Additions and corrections' following p. XXXI.

<sup>7</sup> Bhāratavarṇa, Āṣāḍa, 1348 B. S., p. 87, fn.; DUHB. p. 17.

<sup>8</sup> We have also the following notice regarding Samatāṭa in a picture label of an illustrated manuscript of the 11th century (FIB, I, p. 192):—*Campitālā-Lokañāthā Samāta/eāriṣasthāna*. This refers to the village Chāpitālā of the Tipperah district. In another such notice of the same manuscript we have the following line: *Samatāṭe Jayatūṅga-Lokañātha* (Ibid. p. 200, No. 59). Dr. N. K. Bhattasali thinks that Jayatūṅga of the above notice is a place-name and identifies it with the region around the stream Jatūṅga which traverses the hilly region near Silchar (Ānandabāzār Patrikā, *Śārādīya Saṅkhyā*, 1351 B. S., p. 119-121).

and Baḍ-Kamta, the royal residence of Devakhaḍga.<sup>1</sup> The position of Samataṭa thus outlined is in agreement with the position of Davāka with which Samataṭa is grouped in the Allahabad inscription, for Davāka is identified with Ḍabokā in the Nowgong district in the valleys of Kapilī and Kolango<sup>2</sup>. It thus stands that throughout the ancient period Samataṭa's connection with the country to the east of Brahmaputra remained unchanged.<sup>3</sup>

In the early Gupta period Samataṭa was a *Pratyanta-rājya*, but the Gangetic Delta formed an integral portion of the Gupta Empire, as Gupta Coins coming out from the ruins of Koṭālipādā in the district of Faridpur tend to show<sup>4</sup>. At a later time in the Pāla and Sena periods, portions of lower Bengal such as the Backergunge and Faridpur districts, along with Dacca, came to be known as Vaṭga having nothing in common with Samataṭa. But if in the time of Hiuen Tsang (c. 638 A. D.) the boundaries of Samataṭa included a portion of Central Bengal, it was obviously a very temporary territorial settlement resulting from some political conditions.

Samataṭa was thus roughly equivalent to the Meghnā valley.<sup>5</sup>

<sup>1</sup> IHQ. XXIII, Sept. 1947, pp. 221ff; Bhāratavarṣa, *Vaiśākha*, 1353, pp. 369-374.

<sup>2</sup> K. L. Barua, *Early History of Kamarupa*, p. 42. fn.; Bhāratavarṣa, *Āṣāḍa*, 1348 B. S. p. 84, 86-7.

<sup>3</sup> For other views on Hiuen Tsang's Samataṭa, see, HAIB, pp. 91, 96-7, 102-103. Dr. B. C. Sen even goes further and seeks to prove that the districts of 24-Parganas, Khulna and Backergunge, etc., were incorporated into Samataṭa. The fact that the land in the Khāḍi-*viṣaya* was measured according to the standard prevalent in Samataṭa is not a sufficiently adequate proof by itself to maintain that the *Viṣaya* lay within the jurisdiction of Samataṭa. Dr. H. C. Ray Chaudhury says that the services of the land-measurers from Samataṭa 'may have been requisitioned' (DUHB. p. 26) by the Sena kings.

<sup>4</sup> See the Ghugrahati Grant of Samācāradeva (EI. XVIII. 84-86), edited by Dr. N. K. Bhattasali. Dr. H. C. Ray Chaudhury says that Koṭālipādā was once a thriving city of civilization and the centre of sea-borne trade and commerce (DUHB. p. 7). For Koṭālipādā fort see HAIB, p. 137 ff.

<sup>5</sup> For other countries mentioned by Hiuen Tsang as lying near about Samataṭa and their identification see P. Bhattacharji 'To the east of Samataṭa', IHQ. IV 169-178. N. Das Gupta who writes on the same subject in *Indian Antiquary* (Dec. 1932) agrees with the conclusions of P. Bhattacharji that *Shih-lí ch'-a-to-la*, *Ka-m-o-lung-ka* and *To-lo-po ti* represent Sylhet, Comilla and Hill Tipperah respectively. See also IA. IV. 113 ff. The eastern-most portion of India seems to have been known to Pāṇini. The *Sūramasa-janapada* of IV. I. 170 possibly represented the Sūrmā valley in the tract of Meghna (IHQ. XXIX. 4, 23).

From some inscriptions found in that area we learn that the Meghnā tract in ancient times had some local and administrative divisions. Thus the Uttara-*maṇḍala* of the Gunaighar ( 18 miles north-west of Comilla ) Grant of Vainyagupta ( 507-8 A. D. )<sup>1</sup> may have embraced the countryside round Comilla. The Tipperah Grant of Lokanatha ( 7th century ) again refers to the *Suvvuṅga-viṣaya*<sup>2</sup>. In the Chittagong Plate of Kāntideva ( 9th century ) we find mention of Harikela-*maṇḍala* which might have stood for a portion of the Chittagong district in the ninth century A. D.<sup>3</sup> Even Samatāṭa is mentioned as a *Maṇḍala* in the Mehar (Chandpur) Copper-plate of Daṃodara Deva (1234 A. D.), which also included the *Paraṇāyi-viṣaya*. From the Mayanāmatī Copper-plate Grant of Raṇavaṅkamalla we know of other territorial units such as *Veja-khaṇḍa* and *Pattikera*<sup>4</sup> of ancient Tipperah.

#### 15. UDRAS

They were a people of the eastern coast of India as already

1 IHQ. VI. 40 ff. Dr. B. C. Sen points out that the geography of the Gunaighar Grant refers particularly to the physical features of the Tipperah district (HAIB, pp. 92-95).

2 EI. XV. 303 ff. Dr. N. K. Bhattasali connects it with Shubong-Gang which traverses the hilly region between Half-long and Silchar (Śārādīya Ānanda Bāzār Patrikā, 1351 B. S., pp 119-121).

3 But Dr. R. C. Majumdar prefers to locate Harikela of this inscription in the 'Coastland between Samatāṭa and Orissa' (DUHB, p. 134). The identity of Harikela is a matter of great controversy among scholars. The earliest allusion to the name which occurs in the account of Chinese writers indicate that it was 'the eastern limit of Eastern India'. Prof. D. C. Bhattacharya seeks to locate it in the district of Tipperah (IHQ, XX. 2ff.). The lexicographers of the eleventh and twelfth centuries knew Harikela as the equivalent of Vaṅga. The geographical indications contained in the allusion to the name in the Rampal Grant of Śrīchandra, support, according to Dr. D. C. Ganguli, the views of the lexicographers (IHQ. XIX. 22). Another class of texts of the 15th and 16th centuries equate Harikela with Sylhet (DUHB. p. 16) In the present state of our knowledge it is not possible to reconcile all the conflicting theories stated above, and determine its ancient appropriate application. For other discussions in the subject see Modern Review, Nov., 1922, pp. 612-14; IHQ. II. 322-323; Bhāratavarṣa, 1332, B. S. *Āṣāḍa*, pp 42-43; IO. XII. No. 2, Oct. and Decm. 1945.

4 IHQ. IX. 289, line 6. For the kingdom of Paṭṭikera see Dr. R. C. Majumdar in DUHB. pp. 257- 58.

noticed.<sup>1</sup> In the *Manu-smṛiti* the Oḍras are grouped with a host of Mleccha people. The *Padma Purāṇa* writes that they were Mlecchas,<sup>2</sup> and in the Jaina *Prajñāpanā*<sup>3</sup> we have a similar notice regarding them. Hiuen Tsang informs us that the people were uncivilized, tall in stature, and of a yellowish black complexion. Their language also differed from that of Central India.<sup>4</sup>

#### 18. PRĀG-JYOTIṢAS

Prāgjyotiṣa was ruled by Bhagadatta in the time of the *Mahābhārata*.<sup>5</sup> He is frequently mentioned in the Great Epic as the powerful ally of Duryodhana<sup>6</sup> who fought with a great army of the Chīnas and Kirātas<sup>7</sup>. In the early period, the country seems to have been peopled by a hive of Tibeto-Chinese races<sup>8</sup>, but connected history is reached in the dynasty founded by Prālabha (c. 800-825 A. D.). His successor Śrī Harjara Varmadeva lived in Harūppeśvarapura and issued a royal edict.<sup>9</sup> Harjara's son and successor was Vanamāla who is described as *Prāgjyotiṣādhipānvayo*, in his Tezpur-plates (Darrang district). It is further stated that the river Laubitya-Sindhu was continually washing the sides of Mt. Kāmākūṭa inhabited by Kāmeśvara and Mahāgauri.<sup>10</sup> Kāmākūṭa or Kāmagiri is the same as the Kāmākhyā hills<sup>11</sup> famous for its temple, lying not far from Gauhati town. The indications are positive enough that Harūppeśvarapura, the royal residence of Harjaravarmadeva, was situated in the neighbourhood of the modern town of Gauhati near the sacred temple of Kāmākhyā. In the Tezpur-plates, mention is made of a land-grant executed by Vanamāla in the country to the west of the Trisrotā (Tista). This indicates that the political frontiers of Prāgjyotiṣa in the 9th century A. D., not only included the Brahmaputra valley, but also

<sup>1</sup> Supra 73ff.

<sup>2</sup> *Searga*, 3. 53.

<sup>3</sup> IA. XX. 375.

<sup>4</sup> BR, II. p. 204. The AŚVAVADANAS (No. 16) were a half-civilized people of the eastern coast of India and the DANTURAKAS (No. 17) were the people of a Kalinga city (Supra p. 78).

<sup>5</sup> Mbh; ii. 51. 14. Hiuen Tsang says that the people of Kāmarūpa were of small stature and that they had a dark yellow complexion (BR, II, p. 196).

<sup>6</sup> ii. 34. 9.

<sup>7</sup> The inscription of Khāravēla refers to the Cīnas and Kirātas (EI. XX, 22, fn. 11.).

<sup>8</sup> Cf. *Mlecchādhipātī Śālastambha* of the Bargaoon Grant of Prāgjyotiṣādhipati-Mahārājādhirāja-Śrī-Ratnapāla-Varmadevah.

<sup>9</sup> DHNI, I, p. 243.

<sup>10</sup> Ibid. 244-45.

<sup>11</sup> DD. p. 86.

the region lying to the west of the Brahmaputra as far as the Karatyoā which flows to the west of Tista.

In the Bargaon (Darang district) Grant of *Prāgjyotiṣādhipati* Ratnapāla, who was the third king of the Pālas of Prāgjyotiṣa (c.1000 A. D. - 1100 A. D.) and ruled from his impregnable city Śrī-Durjaya, notice is made of a land grant in the Trayodaśagrāma-*viṣaya* in Uttarakula<sup>1</sup>. The Nowgong Grant of *Prāgjyotiṣādhipānvayo* Śrī-Balavarmadeva (c. 975 A. D.) also records the grant of land in the Dijjinnā-*viṣaya* in Dakṣiṇakula.<sup>2</sup> The Nowgong and Darrang districts, the find-spots of the inscriptions, apparently lay within Prāgjyotiṣa and the location of 'Kula' countries may indicate its extent at that time.

Some Paramāra records of the tenth century A. D. refer to some donees who hailed from N. Bengal. Donee No. 9 came from village Paundarika (which may have derived its name from Paundranagara) in Uttarakula-*deśa*<sup>3</sup>, and donee No. 5 from Bogra. These notices refer to some portions of N. Bengal, perhaps the wedge of land formed by the junction of the river Karatoyā or Tista with either the main stream or one of the branches of the old Brahmaputra as the ancient 'Kula' countries, which obviously formed the western outpost of the Prāgjyotiṣa kingdom at the time of Balavarman and Ratnapāla.

But Prāgjyotiṣa was also the name of a city in Kāmarūpa.<sup>4</sup> A passage alluding to this runs thus: *Prāgjyotiṣaṃpurāṃgatvā Kāmarūpāntarasthitam*.<sup>5</sup> Kāmarūpa is mentioned after Samatāṣa as one of the Eastern *Pratyantas* in the Allahabad Pillar inscription of Samudragupta. It is also mentioned in the Belava Grant of Bhojavarman and is regarded as an equivalent of the Gauhati district, the land of the goddess Kāmākhyā where flows the river Laubitya.<sup>6</sup> We learn from the *Kālikā Purāṇa* that the land of the Kāmākhyā devī extended up to the river Karatoyā.<sup>7</sup> That Karatoyā was the western boundary is also stated in the itinerary of Hiuen Tsang. The

1 DHNI, I, pp 248-52.

2 Ibid. 246-47.

3 EI, XXIII. 103.

4 Cf. The Nowgong grant of Balavarman, Lord of Prāgjyotiṣa.

5 *Kālikā Purāṇa*, Ch. 33. 143. A description of the city occurs in Ch. 39. 91. Also see Ch. 38. 119 for the origin of the name. The *Skanda Purāṇa* has similar references (i. 2. 60. 2). 6 *Kālikā Purāṇa*, 38. 113 ff.

7 33. 123. In the *Yoginī-tantra* the country of Kāmarūpa is described as lying between the Karatoyā and the Dikhu. Cf. also *Kālikā Purāṇa*, 51. 63 ff.



pilgrim crossed the river *Ka-lo-to* or Karatoyā while travelling from the borders of *Pun-na-fa-tan-na* (Punḍravardhana) to *Ka-mo-lu-p'o* (Kāmarūpa)<sup>1</sup>, which was about 10,000 li in circuit or 1667 miles. The estimated size indicates that it comprised the whole of the Brahmaputra valley from the Karatoyā river in the Rangpur district on the west, to the Surma river on the east. Some scholars think that on the north it might have included even Bhutan. The capital town, which was about 30 li in Hiuen Tsang's time, is usually taken to be modern Gauhati or any other place near it, which in all probability represents the site of ancient Prāgjyotiṣapura, the capital of Kāmarūpa as given in some texts.

Prāgjyotiṣa and Kāmarūpa though viable enough in a political and geographical sense seem to have shared the same country : references in the *Raghuvamśa*<sup>2</sup> do not really imply a distinction as some writers maintain. The testimony of Hemacandra supporting the contention runs thus : *Prāgjyotiṣāḥ Kāmarūpāḥ*.<sup>3</sup>

But inscriptional evidence is not in accord with the literary references noticed. In the Kamauli Grant of Vaidyadeva which may be referred to the early part of the 12th century A. D., Kāmarūpa has been mentioned as a *Maṇḍala* of the Prāgjyotiṣa-*bhukti*.<sup>4</sup> In the Deopara inscription of Vijayasena (c. 1097-1159) Kāmarūpa again appears as the name probably of Assam as a whole. In a plate of Lakṣmanasena (c. 1185-1206), Assam is again designated as *Prāgjyotiṣa*,<sup>5</sup> while in the works of Muhammadan historians it is invariably designated as Kāmrud.<sup>6</sup> The Buddhist chronicle *Ārya-mañjuśrī-mūlakaḥ*, describes Kāmarūpa as a country of the east.<sup>7</sup>

1 YC, II, pp. 184-187 ; CAGI, pp. 572ff and p. 729.

2 Raghv, iv. vs. 81-84. 3 Abhidhāna, p. 381. A similar statement is found in the *Vaijayanṭī* (VJN, p. 37. v, 29). In the lexicon of Puraṣottamadeva (TKS, p. 31) it is written as *Prāgjyotiṣaṁ Kāmrūpe*. The *Kathā-S-Sāgara* refers to Kāmarūpa (I. p. 151.) 4 EI. II. 353, lines 48-49. 5 EI. XXVI. 11, verse 11. 6 *Tabaqat-i-Nasiri*, trans. by Raverty, vol. I, pp. 560-72.

7 AMKLP, p. 275, v. 7 ; p. 325, v. 8. LAUHITYAS (No. 19) were the people of the Brahmaputra valley. KṢĪRODASAMUDRA (No. 20) is a mythical name. PURUṢĀDAS (No. 21) were cannibals. UDAYAGIRI (No. 22) refers to the northern peak of the famous Khaṇḍagiri hills of Bhuvaneswar. BHADRAS (No. 23) were the people of the Central Division (supra pp. 22 ff.), but a line of kings bearing this name seem to have ruled in Eastern Bengal in the seventh century A. D. (IO. II. 795-97 ; DUHB. pp. 85-86).

## 24. GAUDAKAS

The earliest literary reference to the name occurs in the works of Pāṇini for the grammarian seems to have known Gauḍapura as a city of the east.<sup>1</sup> The mention of Gauḍa along with Vaṅga and Puṇḍra in the *Arthāśāstra* of Kauṭilya,<sup>2</sup> possibly refers to the same place known to Pāṇini. Gauḍa is not mentioned in the *Mahābhāṣya*, but the people are frequently mentioned in the *Kāmasūtra* (3rd Century A. D.)<sup>3</sup> of Vātsyāyana; and Yośodhara in his Commentary on *Sūtra* No. 33 (*Sāmprayogikādhikaraṇam*) explains that Gauḍa was the country of the east. In a territorial sense Gauḍa was the name of a part of Bengal which had its capital at Karnaśuvārṇa in the 7th century A. D. as *Harṣa-carita* indicates.<sup>4</sup> Dr. D. C. Sircar thinks that the city of Gauḍa, not being the historical capital of the Gauḍa country in an earlier age, was built in its present site in Malda sometime after the seventh century in the age of the Pālas.<sup>5</sup>

Daṇḍin refers<sup>6</sup> to the two styles of Vidarbha and Gauḍa, the latter being known as the *Paurastyā* or the Eastern style. In the *Vikramāṅka-Kāvya* of Bilhaṇa, Gauḍa is grouped with Kāmarūpa.<sup>7</sup> Kalhaṇa pays high encomium to the Gauḍas for their bravery and the indications are positive enough that Gauḍa of Bengal was meant.<sup>8</sup> The Buddhist work *Ārya-Mañjuśrī-mūlakalpa* records: "*Bhavitā Gauḍa deśo'smim Gaṅgātīra-samāśṛtaḥ*."<sup>9</sup> All these references along with the bearing 'East', in which both Parāśara and Varāhamihira agree, must be interpreted as applying to an eastern people consistent with the information derived from the inscription of Isānavarman, which definitely establishes the connection of the Gauḍas with South-West Bengal in the middle of the sixth century A. D. The tradition recorded in the Purāṇas that an ancient Ikṣvāku king built the city

<sup>1</sup> VI. 2. 99-100. Dr. D. C. Sircar doubts the identification of Pāṇini's Gauḍapura with the city of Gauḍa in Bengal (IHQ. XXVIII. 124).

<sup>2</sup> AS, p. 90. The *Arthāśāstra* is assigned to about the third century A. D. but the non-mention of Samtapa may indicate an earlier date for these references.

<sup>3</sup> VKS, p. 308, 360, and 373.

<sup>4</sup> ED. by Cowell and Thomas, p. 187.

<sup>5</sup> Sircar, op. cit.

<sup>6</sup> *Kāvya-darśa*, Ch. I. 40, 42, 43.

<sup>7</sup> IA. V. 319.

<sup>8</sup> IV. 148-149, 324, 335, RT, I, p. 152.

<sup>9</sup> AMKLP, p. 631, v. 9a. Other references to the people in the work occur in p. 232, v. 11, p. 275, v. 8a. and pp. 631-32.

of Śrāvastī in the Gauḍa-*deśa*<sup>1</sup> is not supported by any reliable authority. In Buddhist literature where Śrāvastī is frequently mentioned, its association with Gauḍa is not hinted at. Vātsyāyana knew Gauḍa and Kośala as names of distinct countries.<sup>2</sup> It is, therefore, held that Gauḍa of the Purāṇic passages alluded to may have been the Sanskritised form of the local name Goṇḍa.<sup>3</sup> The theory of Cunningham that ancient Gauḍa was only a portion of Kośala does not appear to be supported by the notices recorded above.<sup>4</sup> Many Gauḍas seem to have existed (Cf. Gonda in C. P.).<sup>5</sup> The five divisions of Gauḍa designated as *Pañca-Gauḍa*, which occurs frequently in the mediaeval literature of Bengal<sup>6</sup> had its origin, according to Dr. H. C. Ray Chaudhury<sup>7</sup>, in the political extent of the Gauḍa empire of Dharmapāla, and so do not stand for the Gauḍas of early literature.

The Haraha inscription (A. D. 554) of Išānavarman records the conflict between the Maukharis and the 'Gauḍas living on the sea shore' (Samudrāśraya).<sup>8</sup> The conqueror, it is stated, turned against the Gauḍas after routing the Śūlikas who may have been living in Orissa.<sup>9</sup> This inscriptional evidence, leaves no doubt that the littoral regions of West Bengal was the home of the Gauḍas in the sixth century A. D. when they first stepped into the light of history. The

<sup>1</sup> *Matsya*, 12. 30; *Linga*, 1. 65; *Kūrma* 1. 20-19. The connection of Śrāvastī with the place of that name as mentioned in the Silimpur inscription is discussed by Dr. B. C. Sen (HAIB, p. 122).

<sup>2</sup> VKS, p. 271, p. 308, 360, and 373.

<sup>3</sup> PHAI, p. 537; DUHB, p. 12, fn. 7; IHQ. XXVIII. 129.

<sup>4</sup> Report of the Archaeological Survey of India, vol. I, pp. 327-328. For the views of Jackson see JRAS. 1905, pp. 163-4.

<sup>5</sup> AR, IX. 82-83,

<sup>6</sup> IHQ. XXVIII. 132-33.

<sup>7</sup> PHAI, p. 537; DUHB, p. 14; HAIB, pp. 126-27.

<sup>8</sup> EI. XIV. 117, vs. 13. Also see the inscription of Suryavarman of the Aśvapati family, V. E. 611 (JAHRs. VIII, 148-49)

<sup>9</sup> The king conquered the Lord of Andhra, vanquished the Śūlikas and caused 'the Gauḍas living on the sea-shore...' etc. The names are set in the geographical order from the south to the north. The records of Śūlikas which have been found in Orissa show that they occupied that tract in the middle of the sixth century A. D. (DHN I, I, p. 438). They may have been known as Śūlkis (Ibid. fn. 2) The other view is that they were the same as Chālukyas (PHAI, p. 509). Rev. H. Heras discusses all the views that are current and writes that the Tamilian name Chola was slowly but naturally converted into Śūlika which occurs in the Haraha inscription (JAHRs. I. 130-31). Dr D. C. Sircar equates Śūlkī with Dhenkanal in Orissa (Journal of Oriental Research, Vol. XVIII. Pt. I).

'haughty foes' on seaside shores, as stated in the Aphaṣṣa (7th century) inscription, may have the Gauḍas in view. In another inscription, the Lord of Gauḍa is described as lying in the 'watery fort of the sea'.<sup>1</sup> These notices along with the epithet '*Samudrāśraya*', applied to the Gauḍas of the sixth century A. D., point to the littoral districts of West Bengal<sup>2</sup> as being their home in the time of Varāhamihira. The separate mention of various other geographical divisions of ancient Bengal in our texts, suggests the inference that Gauḍa of ancient tradition carried a restricted sense.<sup>3</sup>

In the next century the Gauḍas are found to be in possession of Murshidabad, for Śaśāṅka who has been called 'the Lord of Gauḍa' in the *Harṣa-carita*, 'the earliest king to whom that epithet is applied' had his capital at Karṇasuvarṇa, which according to Hiuen Tsang, was the name of both the kingdom and capital of Śaśāṅka.<sup>4</sup> It is mentioned as Karṇasuvarṇaka in the Vappaghosavāṭa inscription of Jayanāga<sup>5</sup> and is identified with Kāṅgāmāṭī (Rakta-mṛttikā, anciently known as Kāṅṣoṇā), six miles south-west of Berhampur in the Murshidabad district.<sup>6</sup> The kingdom of Karṇasuvarṇa might have comprised portions of Nadia, Burdwan, Birbhum and Murshidabad districts.<sup>7</sup> Sometime after the death of Śaśāṅka (between A. D. 619 and 637) the Gauḍa king Jayanāga<sup>8</sup> was overthrown by Bhāskara-varman, king of Kāmarūpa, who at the time of the issuing of the Nidhanpur plates was in possession of Karṇasuvarṇa.<sup>9</sup> But in the time of Yaśovarman of Kanauj, who ruled at least from 731 to 736 A. D., a king possibly of Gauḍa, was occupying the throne of

<sup>1</sup> EI. XXII. 135, vs. 34.

<sup>2</sup> Another interpretation that is given of the expression is that the Gauḍas had a place of refuge in the sea itself, perhaps an island (DUHB. p. 37, fn. 3).

<sup>3</sup> Cf. Gauḍa-*Viṣaya* of the Kānheri inscription of Amoghavarsha I (IA. XIII. 134).

<sup>4</sup> YC, II, p. 192.

<sup>5</sup> EI. XVIII. 61-64.

<sup>6</sup> The identification was first proposed by Beveridge (JASB. 1893, pp. 315-328). For other views see IC. V. 349 ff; HAIB, pp. 63-66. See also R. O. Majumdar, *Suvarṇadvīpa*, I, p. 82 f.

<sup>7</sup> DHNI, I, p. 274.

<sup>8</sup> He is placed in the period 550-650 A. D. and there is a general consensus of opinion that he ruled after the death of Śaśāṅka and before the conquest of Karṇasuvarṇa by Bhāskaravarman (DUHB, p. 80 and fn. 2).

<sup>9</sup> EI. XII. 65; XIX. 115.

Magadha, as the *Gauḍavaho* of Vākpatirāja tells us.<sup>1</sup> The *Rājatarāṅgiṇī* records that in the time of Jayāpīḍa (c. 762) the city of Paṇḍravardhana was subject to the king of Gauḍa.<sup>2</sup> Identification of Paṇḍravardhana with Mahāsthān in the Bogra district is proved by the Mauryan Brāhmī inscription of Mahāsthān.<sup>3</sup> These notices coming from different sources bear allusions to the gradual extension of the political frontiers of the Gauḍa kingdom, which reached its farthest limits in the time of Dharmapāla and Devapāla.

The Gauḍa kingdom in the Pāla period extended in the west beyond the limits of Bengal, and the title *Gauḍeśvara* came to represent imperial power. In contemporary records, the Pāla kings are styled as *Gauḍeśvara*<sup>4</sup>, *Gauḍendra*<sup>5</sup>, *Gauḍādhipa*<sup>6</sup>, and *Gauḍarāja*.<sup>7</sup> The Senas who followed the Pālas inherited this proud title and retained it even when they had retired far to the east of Gauḍa shorn of dignity and territory. The Rājāvāḍi (Bhāwāl) plate of *Gauḍeśvara* Lakṣmaṇasenadeva was issued from Dhāryya-grāma<sup>8</sup>, where he shifted his capital 'on the road to further retirement'; after he had lost north-western Bengal as a result of the invasion of Ikhtiyārūddin Muhammad. Even Keśavasena and Viśvarūpasena assumed the title of *Gauḍeśvara*. The title later on bore a purely conventional import. A Copper-plate grant from Balasore (1483) shows that kings of Orissa also took this title.<sup>9</sup>

The geographical location of the Gauḍas in early times has been noticed. But Gauḍa practically became a synonym for North and West Bengal, as mention is made of the inclusion of Varendra and Rāḍha within it.<sup>10</sup> Thus Gauḍa included Karṇasuvarṇa<sup>11</sup>, and

<sup>1</sup> For the evidence of *Gauḍa-vaho*, see DUHB, p. 94.

<sup>2</sup> IV, 421, RT, I, p. 160.

<sup>3</sup> EI. XXI, 85 ff.

<sup>4</sup> EI. I. 126, vs. 23. Cf. The Copper-plate of Vaidyadeva (EI. II. 355, line 13).

<sup>5</sup> The Wari Grant of Govinda III (IA. XII. 160, line 39).

<sup>6</sup> IA. XIV. 140.

<sup>7</sup> DHNI, I, pp. 349-50.

<sup>8</sup> Dr. N. K. Bhattasali who has edited the plate identifies the place with the region round about Rājāvāḍi, a village 9½ miles north-east of Jayadevpur Railway station on the Dacca-Mymensing railway line (JASB. 1942, VIII, pp. 1, 14, 20 and 34).

<sup>9</sup> IA. I. 355. Cf. reference to Gauḍa in a *Tantra*: Gauḍa lay between Vahga and Bhuvaneśa (IHQ. XXVIII. 127).

<sup>10</sup> Dr. B. C. Sen. points to an evidence of the inclusion of Varendra and Rāḍha in the Gauḍa kingdom (HAIB, p. 125).

<sup>11</sup> JASB. 1908, p. 274.

literary (*Prabodhacandrodaya*)<sup>1</sup> and epigraphic evidence refer to the inclusion of Rāḍha within Gauḍa.<sup>2</sup> Rāḍha also known as Lāḷa<sup>3</sup> and Lāḍa,<sup>4</sup> and divided into two parts,<sup>5</sup> was roughly equivalent to the country bounded by the Gāṅges on the north and the Bhāgī-rathī on the east.<sup>6</sup> According to a late Buddhist chronicle, the *Ārya mañjuśrī-mūlakalpa*, Lāḍa *janapada* extended up to the sea.<sup>7</sup> A geographical work which is 'professedly a section of the *Bhavishya Purāṇa* but interspersed with materials which are clearly quite modern', states that 'Gaura' lay to the south of the Padmā,<sup>8</sup> the principal towns of which were Gaureśa, Rāmakeli (the name of a suburb of ancient Gaur to the north of the Ganges),<sup>9</sup> Maula-

<sup>1</sup> Ed. by Srikrishna Misra and printed by Kāvyaaprakāśa Press, 1874, Act. II, p. 28; IHQ. 1932, pp. 521 ff.

<sup>2</sup> In two inscriptions of South India, one dated A. D. 1168, and the other referring to 1261 A. D. Rāḍhā is included in Gauḍa (JAHS. IV. p. 158, L. 7; Rangachariar, 'Ins. of the Madras Presidency', I. p. 353; IHQ. 1937, p. 162. But Gauḍa and Rāḍhā is also separately mentioned in the Maranja-mura charter (JBORS. 1916, II, p. 53, plate II, L. 2). And the Senas who were originally ornaments of the Rāḍhā country (EI. XIV. 156 ff) styled themselves as *Gauḷeśvara* only after they had reduced to submission North Bengal. The *Digvijaya-prakāśa* specifies Rāḍha and Gauḍa as two distinct countries (Vasumatī, 1340, *Māgh*, p. 610). <sup>3</sup> *Mahāvaiṇsa*, IA. XIII. 36.

<sup>4</sup> Tirumalai inscription of Rajendra Cola (EI. IX. 229-233).

<sup>5</sup> *Āchārāṅga sūtra* one of the oldest books of the Jainas, as already noted, records the two parts of Lāḍha (see supra p 159). An inscription of the 9th century A. D. refers to Ottarā Rāḍhā and in the *Prabodhacandrodaya* the reference is to Dakṣiṇa Rāḍhā. In the Tirumalai inscription we have reference to both as Takkana-lāḍam and Uttira-lāḍam. The river Ajaya was the boundary between the two parts of Rāḍhā (JRAS. 1935, pp. 73 ff.). See also DUHB, pp. 21-22.

<sup>6</sup> *Vallāla-caritam*, Biblio. Indio., 1904, pt. II, ch. I; HAIB, p. 45; P. C. Sen, IHQ. viii. 521-24. N. L. De writes that Rāḍha was bounded on the west by Manbhum and Singhbhum (IHQ. IV. 47-56).

<sup>7</sup> AMKLP, p. 624. Cf. also '*Lāḍodreṣu*' (Ibid. 233).

<sup>8</sup> IA. XX. 419 The passage in question has been used with considerable doubt as Dr. N. K. Bhattasali who was consulted on the point was of the opinion that it was spurious. Dr. H. C. Ray Chaudhury refers to this statement without any comment (DUHB. p. 13). IHQ. XXVIII. 126-7.

<sup>9</sup> *Memoirs of Gaur and Pandua*, by Khan Sahib M. A. A. Khan, ed by Stapleton, Calcutta, Bengal Secretariat, MC MXXXI, pp. 88 ff. For Gaur and other ancient places, see M. Chakravarti in JASB. 1909, pp. 214 ff.

paṭṭan (Mollai-Hooghly), Morasudābād, Kanthakākhyā (Cutwa) and Śāntipura. Dr. H. C. Ray Chaudhury draws our attention to a notice contained in the *Anargharūghava* (8th century A.D.), which alludes to Champā located in the north-west of the city of Burdwan as the capital of the Gauḍas.<sup>1</sup> All these raise a strong presumption, that at certain periods in ancient times Gauḍa in a territorial sense represented the ancient Rāḍha country.

But the provenance of the Pāla records leave the impression that some districts of North Bengal were territorially and geographically the same to which the name Gauḍa was applied in the Pāla period. The Pillar inscription found at Bāngaḍ in the Dinajpur district records the erection of a temple by a king of Gauḍa. The Pāla king of the Bādāl pillar inscription is styled *Gauḍeśvara*. The Lord of Gauḍa, whom Vijayasena claims to have defeated in the Deopārā inscription is generally identified with Madanapāla, whose Manahali Grant was found in the Dinajpur district. The city of the Gauḍas, *Gauḍepurottame* of *Vallāla-carita*,<sup>2</sup> might have stood on the site of ancient Gaur of the modern Maldah district.<sup>3</sup> An inscription of Śāka 889 (=967 A. D.) states that one Gadādhara who was a crest jewel of the Gauḍa country and illuminator of the Varendrī was born in the village Taḍā.<sup>4</sup> The village has been identified with the modern Tara situated at a distance of about twelve miles south-east of Dinajpur. The inscriptional evidence is also supported by the *Purāṇa-sarvasva* which states that Varendrī was situated in Gauḍa.<sup>5</sup>

Epigraphic evidence makes it manifestly clear that in the Pāla and Sena periods, the two largest and well-known geographical divisions of Bengal were Gauḍa and Vaṅga. The distinction between Gauḍa and Vaṅga was known as early as the third century A.D., for Vātsyāyana refers to the Gauḍas and Vaṅgas<sup>6</sup>, the same dis-

<sup>1</sup> DUHB p. 13.

<sup>2</sup> Biblio. Ind, op. cit. p. 16, v. 9 ; HAIB, pp. 118-20. In the *Ārya.Mañjuśrī-mūlakaḥ* ( AMKLP, p. 645 ) mention is made of Gauḍapuri.

<sup>3</sup> Dr. B. C. Sen's contention ( HAIB, p. 33 and fn. 6 ) that the Maladas of the Epic are to be connected with the district of Maldah lacks support. Except the obvious similarity of names there is nothing to suggest the identity of the two. The Maladas were a people of the Central Division as already noted (supra p. 38 ), although they are mentioned as a people of the east ( No. 40 ).

<sup>4</sup> EI. XXI. 261-62, vs. 13-14. For Gadādhara, see DUHB, p. 677.

<sup>5</sup> Aufrecht. Cat., p. 87.

<sup>6</sup> VKS, pp. 308-9, *Sūtras* Nos. 38 and 41.

inction is also observed in the *Gauḍa-vaho*. The *Bṛhat-saṃhitā* has reference to the Gauḍas, but not to the Vaṅgas, while in the text of the Vā. group we have reference to the Vaṅgas, but not to the Gauḍas, as a people of the Eastern Division. In several epigraphs such as the Sonpur Grant of Mahāsivagupta<sup>1</sup> and the Pithāpuram plate of Prithvisena (S. 1108) distinction is made between Gauḍa and Vaṅga. In the Baroda Grant (812 A.D.) of Rāṣṭrakūṭa Karka II. *Gauḍeṇḍra* and *Vaṅgapati* are separately mentioned.<sup>2</sup> Gauḍa and Vaṅga also occur as two separate names in the long list of countries furnished by the *Skanda Purāṇa*<sup>3</sup>.

The earliest literary reference to the ethnic name Vaṅgas, is found in the *Aitareya Āraṇyaka* along with the Vagadhas (= Magadhas) and Cerapādas the three tribes who transgressed the Vedic faith.<sup>4</sup> They are clearly mentioned in the *Dharma sūtra* of Baudhāyana<sup>5</sup> as an impure people; and geographically the Vaṅga country was excluded from Āryāvarta in the Dharma literature (4th century B. C). But a Jaina work of considerable antiquity, the Jaina *Upāṅga* called the *Prajñāpanā*, refers to the people as one of the Eastern Āriyas and even records Tāmalitti as their chief city.<sup>6</sup> The *Mahāvamśa* narrates the colonial enterprise of prince Vijaya of Vaṅga, but it is doubtful if the mention of Buddhist teacher Upasena as Vaṅgantaputta and of another teacher as Vaṅgīśa contains any reference to the well-known people of Bengal. Dr. D. R. Bhandarkar says that Vaṅga does not figure prominently in connection with the early proselytising activity of the Buddhists.<sup>7</sup> Epic traditions are of great value in that they confirm the antiquity of Vaṅga, as a seat of political power at some remote date, and show that it was connected in the relations of both

<sup>1</sup> JBORS. 1916, II, 53, line 3.

<sup>2</sup> IA. XII. p. 160, line 9.

<sup>3</sup> it, 7. 15. 31; ii. 7. 10. 36. In the *Kathā-S-Sāgara* we find mention of Gauḍa (KSSR, I, 461, 464-5).

<sup>4</sup> II. 1. 1. *Kīeth*, Ait. Ār. 101, 200. Some scholars equate Vagadhas of the text with the Bāgdis of Burdwan (HAIB, p. 930). The Cerapādas are probably the Cheros who are now found in some districts of Bihar and Orissa. For the equation, Vedic cheras=mod. cheras—keraḷas, see HAIB, p. 8, fn. 2.

<sup>5</sup> ABORI. XXIX. 142.

<sup>6</sup> Supra p. 30, fn. 2. The name Tāmalitti which resolves into Dāmilitti or Dāmalitti, i. e. the city of the Dāmala or Tāmala, or the Tāmila people is considered to be a relic of an ancient Tamil settlement in Bengal (B. C. Majumdar, History of the Bengali language, pp. 38-41).

<sup>7</sup> ABORI. XII. 106.



peace and war with Āryāvarta. The legendary story of the five sons of Bali namely, Aṅga, Vaṅga, Kaliṅga, Puṇḍra and Suhma, however, tends to prove the common but doubtful Aryan origin of this belt of eastern states.<sup>1</sup> The people of Vaṅga fought in the Kurukṣetra war<sup>2</sup>, and the Great Epic records that in course of his expedition Bhīṣma defeated Samudrasena of Vaṅga. The Vaṅgas and their country were quite well-known in the second century B. C. as they are referred to by Patañjali, the author of *Mahābhāṣya*, by way of his illustration.<sup>3</sup> Kauṭilya makes similar references to the country.<sup>4</sup>

The geographical location of the Vaṅga country presents certain difficulties, as both in a political and geographical sense the position of the country changed in different periods. Epic traditions indicate that in very ancient times Aṅga, Vaṅga, Puṇḍra and Suhma were the only important geographical divisions of the country to the east of Magadha, and that, Vaṅga was the designation of a country lying adjacent to Aṅga and Puṇḍra. From the *Mahābhārata* we learn that Jarāsandha of Magadha ruled over Vaṅga and Puṇḍra. The question of Puṇḍra apart, Aṅga in the Epic and Buddhist literature is represented as a country contiguous to Vaṅga and comprehending a portion of the latter. The *Sabhāparva* of the *Mahābhārata*

1 In the *Mahābhārata* (B), we have perhaps a traditional account of the belt of eastern states : *Angān Vaṅgān Kaliṅgāṃśca Māgadhān Kāśikosalān* (vii, 9. 15). But of these, the collocation Aṅga, Vaṅga and Kaliṅga was the traditional order (Mbh., i. 215. 9 ; iii, 253. 8). Suhma and Puṇḍra are sometimes tacked on and sometimes dropped. The same combination is found in the *Kāmasūtra* : *Vaṅgāṅgakaliṅgakānām* (VKS, p. 309), and in the *Bārhaspatya Arthaśāstra* (ed. by F. W. Thomas, Op. cit. p. 21). In the Vedic *Sūtra* texts, Aṅga, Vaṅga and Kaliṅga are declared as condemned countries. Baudhāyana even recommends an expiatory sacrifice after a journey to the Puṇḍras and the Vaṅgas. The *Āyārāṅga Sūtra* (SBE. XXII. pp 84-85) refers to the savage nature of the people of the Rāḍha-Suhma country. Dr. D. R. Bhandarkar says that this portion was excluded from Āryāvarta and did not fall under any perceptible Vedic influence till the middle of the third century A. D. (ABORI. XII. 110-116), and even later in the 4th century. Also see Dr. H. C. Ray Chaudhury, DUHB, pp. 36-7 ; Dr. R. C. Majumdar, Early History of Bengal, Dacca University, 1924, p. 2 ; B. C. Law, The Vaṅgas, IO. I. 57 ff. See also HAIB, pp. 9-13, for a detailed study of the complicated ethnology of the group of the tribes of eastern India.

2 Mbh., VII. 150. 3 ; DUHB, pp. 38-39.

3 IV. 1. 4, Kielhorn's edition, II, p. 282.

4 AS, p. 82.

even mentions that Aṅga and Vaṅga formed one *Viṣaya* or kingdom.<sup>1</sup> The Jaina tradition referred to above proves the inclusion of Tamruk within Vaṅga. This is in conformity with the earliest Buddhist literary references to the name Vaṅga in the *Milinda-pañha*<sup>2</sup>, where Vaṅga is described as a maritime country frequented by ships of merchandise. All these are indications which make it highly probable, that the earliest application of the term Vaṅga also related to the littoral regions of West Bengal which, therefore, implies that portions of the Suhma country at some period in ancient times, were conterminous with Vaṅga. This is a valid presumption and cannot be ruled out altogether. Kalidās's mention of Suhma, and his concurrent and specific statement, which runs thus—*Vaṅgānutkhāya tarasānetā.....jayastambhān Gaṅgāsroto'ntaresu sah*—establishes Vaṅga's connection with the Gangetic Delta, and indicates that in the time of Kalidasa (5th Cent.), Vaṅga as a geographical entity was different from Suhma and yet was adjacent to it.<sup>3</sup>

The first epigraphic mention of the Vaṅgas occurs in the Meherauli Pillar inscription of Candraraja who fought against his eastern enemies the Vaṅgas.<sup>4</sup> We do not know where the struggle between the

1 ii, 44. 9 ; R. C. Majumdar, *Early History of Bengal*, op. cit. p. 8.

2 SBE, XXXVI. ii, p. 269.

3 The order of conquests described in the *Raghuvamśa* is as follows : after the conquest of the eastern countries Raghu reached the shore of the eastern sea (v. 34) and then received the submission of the king of Suhma (v. 35). Later on the king of Vaṅga who used his fleet was defeated (v. 36), and he established his supremacy in the scattered islands of the Gangetic stream. Raghu then crossed the river Kapiśā and landed in the Utkala country with his troops (vs. 34-38). So here Vaṅga is definitely made contiguous to Utkala on the west being separated from it by the river Kapiśā (DUHB. p. 15). It is clear that according to *Raghuvamśa*, Vaṅga which included Tāmralipta extended up to the river Kapiśā which flowed to the west of Tamruk (IHQ. VIII. 533).

4 CII. III. 141. But the name Vaṅga is also traced in an earlier inscription in the expression '*Saṁvaṅgiyānam*' of the Mauryan Brāhmī inscription from Mahasthan edited by Dr. D. R. Bhandarkar (EI. XXI. 85 ff). The reading is open to doubt and the proposal of treating the name as a case analogous to 'Saṁvajji', i. e. a confederacy of the united Vṛjī is not supported by any other evidence. No history is known about the confederated clans of Bengal. The expression perhaps carries no tribal or geographical sense (HAIB, pp. 81-82). Besides it has been shown (supra p. 157, fn. 4) that the reading Pravaṅga is an error and that no such people existed. See Barua in IHQ. 1934, March, 57 ff ; P. C. Sen, IHQ. 1933, p. 722 ff.

Vaṅgas and the military adventurer Candra took place, but it will not be wide of the mark to suppose that the people of this name who were forced into an action in defence of their country against Candra were possibly the people of the same name who are represented as being vanquished by Raghu in the work of Kalidasa ; for the famous poet was not, in all probability, far removed in point of age from that of Candra, who is generally assigned to the pre-Gupta or early Gupta period.

But a great change must have come over in the ethnic settlements of the west Bhāgīrathī tract in the sixth century A. D., for the expression '*Samudrāśraya*' of the Haraha inscription (554 A. D.), used in regard to the Gauḍas, indirectly connects them with the littoral portions of the Suhma country. This resulted probably in the amalgamation of the Suhmas by a newer power, the Gauḍas, who followed the Suhmas in the country to the west of the Bhāgīrathī. We may assume further, as seems very likely, that the rise of the Gauḍas as a strong power in the littoral regions had its repercussions in the position of the Vaṅgas, who being threatened, built up new frontiers and developed new relations with their neighbours. We have no means of establishing the connection between the rise of the Gauḍas and the consequent changes it brought about in the habitat of the Vaṅgas : but we have to consider the fact that the evidence of the presence of the Vaṅgas at all in the land west of the Bhāgīrathī, is perhaps not generally found in the record of the centuries immediately following Varāhamihira. Later references bear out that the Vaṅgas and the Gauḍas lived in their respective countries, sharply demarcated, both in a geographical and ethnical sense.

The indefiniteness of Vaṅga as a geographical appellation noticeable in early literature disappeared. The entire triangular tract bounded by the Bhāgīrathī, Padma and the Meghna estuary, definitely came to bear the impress of the ethnic name Vaṅga. Thus in the *Bṛhat-Saṁhitā* a work of the sixth century A. D., mention is made of UpaVaṅga,<sup>1</sup> which is commonly identified with some portions of the Gangetic Delta.<sup>2</sup> We have again a

<sup>1</sup> Varāhamihira mentions Vaṅga Upa Vaṅga in the list of the South-Eastern Division (Nos 3-4). The bearing appears to be a mistake for the East.

<sup>2</sup> DD p 211 ; DUHB. 15. Dr B. C. Sen equates Upa Vanga with Noakhali and Chittagong (HAIB, p. 85).

reference to Anuttara Vaṅga in the Kamauli Copper-plate of Vaidyadeva<sup>1</sup> which was perhaps equivalent to a portion of South Bengal. Other inscriptions of the late mediaeval period establish Vaṅga's connection with what is called Eastern Bengal. In Keoar, three miles to the south-east of Rampal in the Munshiganja sub-division of the Dacca district, an inscription on the body of an image runs to the effect that the image was consecrated by one *Vaṅgoka* hailing from Varendrī<sup>2</sup>. It is suggested that the name *Vaṅgoka* has been derived from the name of the country Vaṅga, but this assumption, based as it is on an isolated reference cannot be taken seriously. Other inscriptions such as the Madanapādā Grant of Viśvarūpasena<sup>3</sup> found in the Faridpur district, and the Edilpur Grant of Keśavasena<sup>4</sup>, distinctly refer to the inclusion of the famous Vikramapura of the Dacca district, within Vaṅga : *Vaṅge-vikramapurabhāṅga-pradeśa*. It is thus evident that the Dacca district was in the heart of what was known as Vaṅga in the Sena period<sup>5</sup>.

Like Vikramapura, Nāvya was another principal sub-division of Vaṅga in the twelfth century. A line in the Sāhitya Pariṣat Copper plate of Viśvarūpa Sena referring to this runs thus : *Paṇḍravar-dhana bhuktantaḥ pāti-Vaṅge nāvye Rāmasiddhi pūtake* etc.<sup>6</sup> Rāmasiddhi is still now the name of a village near Chandsir in the northern extremity of the Barisal district<sup>7</sup>. The same Grant further records that the village of Vinayatilaka, to the east of which lay the sea, was included in Nāvya : *Tathā Nāvye Vinayatilaka grāme pūrve samudra sīmā* etc.<sup>8</sup> The village of Vinayatilaka clearly survives in the modern Bintlak of the Kālkini thanā in the south of the Faridpur district. The lower course of the Padma and the extensive 'Bils' that lay to the east of the district are perhaps referred to here as *Samudra*. The indications are positive enough that the name Nāvya of Vaṅga was applied to the Faridpur and Barisal districts<sup>9</sup>.

<sup>1</sup> EI. II. 349 ff, vs. 11.

<sup>2</sup> EI. XVII. 356.

<sup>3</sup> JASB. 1896, Pt. I, p. 6 ff : Ins. of Bengal, pp. 132 ff.

<sup>4</sup> JASB. X, p. 98 ff ; Ins. of Bengal, pp. 118 ff.

<sup>5</sup> In the *Tabaqat-i-Nasiri* of Maulānā Minhājūd-Dīn ( Trans. by Raverty. pp. 554-59), it is stated that Lakhmaṇīah after the fall of Nūdīah got away towards Bang and "there the period of his reign shortly came to a termination. His descendants up to this time, are the rulers in the country of Bang".

<sup>6</sup> Ins. of Bengal, III, p. 146, line 42.

<sup>7</sup> J. C. Ghosh in IHQ. IV. 637 ff.

<sup>8</sup> Ins. of Bengal, III, p. 146, line 47.

<sup>9</sup> DUHB. p. 16.

But the mention of *Piñjokaṣṭi-grāma* in *Vikramapura-bhāga* of *Vaṅga*<sup>1</sup>, however, tends to show that *Vikramapura* division of *Vaṅga* was even co-extensive with *Nāvya*. In any case, it is clear that *Vaṅga* in the twelfth century consisting of *Vikramapura* and *Nāvya*, corresponded to the modern *Dacca*, *Faridpur* and *Barisal* district.

A miniature picture label in a Ms. dated 1015 A. D, refers to *Candradvīpa*<sup>2</sup>. We also know from the *Rāmapāl* Grant of *Śrīcandra*, who is believed to have flourished in the later part of the tenth or beginning of the eleventh century A.D.<sup>3</sup> that *Candradvīpa* was under his rule<sup>4</sup>. *Candradvīpa* is considered identical with the *Bakerganj* district in particular and some portions of the modern districts of *Khulna* and *Faridpur*<sup>5</sup>. This was obviously enough, another division of *Vaṅga*, and not necessarily altogether disassociated from it as some think it to be. Such instances are not rare, for *Vardhamāna* which appears as a name in our list of this division ( No. 33 ) was evidently a part of ancient *Rāḍha*, and cannot be distinguished from the ancient *Rāḍha* country in a geographical sense. It would thus appear that *Upa Vaṅga*, *Anuttara Vaṅga*, *Candradvīpa*, *Vikramapura* and *Nāvya* were so many divisions of the geographical system of *Vaṅga*, and it gives us a fair idea about the extent and application of the name *Vaṅga* in the centuries preceding the *Senas*. This short list, to which others may be added, will not prejudicially affect the view, that *Vaṅga*, by the time of the *Sena* kings, comprehended the entire triangular Delta of the *Ganges*.

From the account of *Rajendra Chola's* invasion of *Bengal*<sup>6</sup> we know of another name called *Vaṅgāla* whose king *Govindacandra*

1 The village is identified with the modern *Piñjāri* ( in the *Koṭālipādā Paganā* of the *Faridpur* district ) near *Madanapādā* where the plate of *Viśvarūpasena* has been found. Dr. B. C. Sen writes that *Vikramapura-bhāga* comprised at least a part of *Faridpur* ( *HAIB*, p. 89 ). But the name ending *Kāṣṭi* cannot be traced in the name *Piñjāri*, place names ending with *Kāṣṭi* ( -*Kāṭi* ) are very commonly found in the *Barisal* district.

2 *FIB*, I, p. 192, No. 17,

3 *DUHB*, p. 196.

4 *Inscriptions of Bengal*, III, p. 3.

5 *EI*. XII. 141 ; S. Mitra, "History of *Jessore & Khulna*" p. 140 ; *JRAS*. 1896, p. 130 ; *JASB*. 1873, p. 226 ; *DUHB*. p. 18 and 195 fn. 1. See also *Dt. Gaz. of Bakerganj*. The reading *Kandradvīpa* of the *Sahitya Parishat Grant* is a mistake for *Fandradvīpa* ( J. C. Ghosh, *IHQ*. IV. 638 ). Dr. H. C. Ray Chaudhury thinks that the reading should be *Chandradvīpa* ( *DUHB*. p. 18 ).

6 K. A. Nilakanta Sastri, 'The Cholas', p. 247 ff.

came into conflict with the army of Rajendra Chola I<sup>1</sup>. The relevant passage runs thus : "where ( Vaṅgāla-deśa ) the rain water never stopped (and from which) Govindacandra fled"<sup>2</sup>. Vaṅgāla in the inscription of Rajendra Chola, is clearly distinguished from Uttara-Rāḍhā and Dakṣiṇa Rāḍhā, and the indications are that Vaṅgāla-deśa refers to Southern Bengal. That Govindacandra, presumably a member of the royal family of the Chandras (who ruled in Eastern and Southern Bengal during the period between 900-1050 A. D.),<sup>3</sup> ruled over Dacca and possibly over the Faridpur districts, is proved by two inscriptions dated in the 12th and 23rd year of his reign. One is the Betkā Vāsudeva image inscription of the 23rd year of Govindacandra found in Vikramapura, and the other is the Kulkūḍi (Faridpur) Sun-God image inscription of the 12th year of Govindacandra<sup>4</sup>. Dr. D. C. Sarkar who has edited the Betkā (Paikpara) inscription is of opinion that it cannot be earlier than the middle of the eleventh century<sup>5</sup>. But this assumption is not wholly in agreement with the conditions of the defeat of king Govindacandra of Vaṅgāla-deśa who came into conflict with the army of Rajendra Chola I a little before 1021 A. D. In any case, the inscriptional evidences as interpreted above lead to the conclusion, that in the eleventh century Vaṅgāla-deśa comprehended at least the Dacca district which from other epigraphic sources we know, was in the centre of the Vaṅga country. So Vaṅgāla was within Vaṅga, and not altogether a separate geographical entity as is maintained by some<sup>6</sup>.

1 EI. IX. 229-233.

2 Shastri, op. cit. p. 249 ; IHQ. XIII. 151-2 ; EI. IX. 233.

3 'DUHB. p. 196. For a discussion of some relevant points connected with the Chandras see IC. VII. 409 ff.

4 Bhāratavarṣa, *Phālgoon*, 1348, B. S., pp. 269-70 ; *Jyaiṣṭha* 1348, B. S. pp. 768 ff.

5 IC. VII. 405 ff.

6 Mr. R. C. Banerjee writes that the Vaṅgālas originally settled in the east of the Brahmaputra ( Mehārkul Parganā of the Tipperah district ), but invaded Vaṅga ( S. E. Bengal ) in the tenth and eleventh centuries ( IC. II. 755, 766 ). Dr. R. C. Majumdar identifies Vaṅgāladeśa with the district round Chittagong which he thinks was the original seat of the Pālas and the Candras ( IHQ. XVI. 200, For criticism of his views see D. C. Sircar, IC. VII. 408 ff ). Marco Polo's account of the Bangala ( — Vaṅgāla ? ) country which points to Pegu and to which attention has been drawn by one writer ( P. C. Paul. History of Bengal, I, pp. V-VI 'Introduction ) also does not satisfy the geographical conditions of Vaṅgāla-deśa as referred to in the Tirumuli inscription.

Dr. H. C. Ray Chaudhuri derives the name Vaṅgāla as *Vaṅga* + *āl* (from *āli*, 'dike')<sup>1</sup> and identifies it with the part of old Vaṅga (Bakarganj and Khulna) particularly the low-lying flats of the Gangetic Delta intercepted by *khāls* and creeks<sup>2</sup>. He also draws our attention to the "Bengala" of Gastaldi (1561 A. D.) which yielded to the Anglicised word Bengal. In an etymological and geographical sense, the word Vaṅgāla might have its origin in the physical features of the riverine section of lower Bengal, but this is no proof to maintain that Vaṅgāla represented a separate geographical area quite distinguished from Vaṅga<sup>3</sup>. The separate mention of the two<sup>4</sup> does not indicate that Vaṅga and Vaṅgāla were locally distinct, just as the separate mention of Rāḍhā and Gauḍa<sup>5</sup> is not a proof that geographically Rāḍhā and Gauḍa had always a distinct line of demarcation; and indeed, the Rāḍhā country was the cradle land of the Gauḍas. For the present, therefore, we may regard that the Vaṅgālas, if at all they were different from the Vaṅgas, cannot be dissociated from the Vaṅga country<sup>3</sup>. Indeed, anything we thus

<sup>1</sup> DUHB. pp. 18-19; see also 'Studies in Indian Antiquities', pp. 187-88; Mānasī-O-Marmavāṇī, 1335-6 B. S., pp. 566 ff.

<sup>2</sup> For other views on the etymology of the name see N. Chaudhury in Modern Review, September, 1936. Dr. B. C. Sen points out that the expression 'Vaṅgālī' and 'Vaṅgāla' were familiar in early mediaeval times (HAIB, p. 1-2, 86).

<sup>3</sup> Dr. D. C. Ganguly has utilised all the Sanskrit, Chinese, Moslem and European sources of 'Vaṅgāla-deśa' to show that in mediaeval times throughout the eleventh, thirteenth and fourteenth centuries, Vaṅgāla was commonly used to denote the Dacca district which formed a part of ancient Vaṅga. Later application of the name extended over the whole country from Lakhnauti or Gaur to Chittagong (IHQ. XIX. 297-317). For the city of Bengala, see A. Cortesão, in JASB. XI, 1945, No. I, pp. 10-14.

<sup>4</sup> It is suggested that the reference to Vaṅga and Vaṅgāla in the Ablur inscription offers no valid ground to think that the two were distinct and separate names (HAIB, p. 86; P. Paul, IHQ, XII, 77-8, fn. 61). See also Dr. D. C. Ganguly who criticises all such references to the separate mention of Vaṅga and Vaṅgāla in IHQ, XIX. 297, fn. 1.

<sup>5</sup> See supra p. 177 fn. 2.

<sup>6</sup> Prof. Aiyangar's view that Vaṅgāla was a general name of Bengal and not a part of it (JRAS, 1937, p. 82) is untenable as the different parts of Bengal are specifically mentioned by separate names. It is, however, probable that Vaṅgāla was equivalent to the Vaṅga division of ancient Bengal, and as such they were treated as synonymous in the later period. In the Lāma Tāranātha's account (IA. IV. 361 ff; IHQ, XVI. 219 ff) Bhāṅgāla is distinguished from Rāḍhā and Varendra which presumably indicates that Bhāṅgāla as a geographical division represented the tract bounded by the Padmā and the Bhāgīrathī, that

decide upon regarding the separate identity of the two would be merely conjectural. It appears that in the late mediaeval period Vaṅga was being replaced by Vaṅgala ( Bengal ) in popular use, the former being the early name and the literary name as well, like that of Laṅkā in relation to Siṃhala ( =Ceylon)<sup>1</sup>.

We thus see that towards the end of the Sena period, Gauḍa (Rāḍhā and Varendra ), Vaṅga and Samatāṭa were the broad divisions of Bengal. But the geographical connotation of Vaṅga afterwards expanded so as to include the trans-Meghna tract, because later writers make Vaṅga co-extensive with the whole region to the east of the Brahmaputra<sup>2</sup> in addition to the Gangetic Delta. Vaṅga thus remained, throughout the ancient period, a geographical name with varying significations during different epochs. The country, which at one time included Tāmralipta and abutted on Aṅga, later on represented the modern districts of the Dacca Division. In course of time Vaṅga's geographical connection with East Bengal became closer, and gradually the name came to cover not only the portions of Lower and Southern Bengal, but also the whole level-land ( *Samatāṭa* ) to the east of the Jamunā<sup>3</sup>. ( the name of the southerly course of the Brahmaputra ). But old traditions of its associations with places adjoining Rāḍhā perhaps had its weight in the application

is, the country which figures as Vaṅga in indigenous accounts. For a detailed study of Tāranātha's account see Dr. R. C. Majumdar in DUHB, pp. 182 ff.

<sup>1</sup> S. B. Chaudhury in IHQ. XXVII. ( June 1951 ) 119—Laṅkā.

<sup>2</sup> Cf. *Vaṅgo Lohityāt pūrveṇa*, of Yaśodhara on Vats. *Sūtra* (vi, 5. 25, p 294), ed. by Damodara Gosvamin (for a criticism of the geographical knowledge of Yaśodhara see IC. II. 755 ff). Dr. B. C. Sen draws our attention to a statement of Raghunandan (quoted by S. Ray in his *Suvarṇa-grāma Itihāsa*) which indicates that Vaṅga in the 16th century was co-extensive with the Brahmaputra valley (HAIB p. 85, fn. 2). Cf. also AMKLP, p. 325, v. 9a : *Lauhityān tu tāte ramye Vaṅgadeśeṣu sarvataḥ*. Also IHQ. XXVIII. 127.

<sup>3</sup> Dr. H. C. Ray Chaudhuri says, "political union under the same sovereign styled both *Vaṅgapati* and *Gauḍeśvara* was fast making them interchangeable terms" (DUHB, p 14). But the evidence of Vaṅga being used as a synonym for Gauḍa in the late mediaeval period is very rare. Later writers have maintained this distinction too clearly to be overlooked. In a Buddhist chronicle the two are separately mentioned (AMKLP, p. 232, v. 11 and 13). The same distinction is also observed in the *Śaktisaṅgama-tantra* (quoted in the *Śabdakalpādruma*, Art. Gauḍa) Early Muslim writers usually noted two broad divisions of Bengal, namely, Vaṅga and Gauḍa and the province was sometimes called *Gaur-Baṅgāl*.



of the name in its widest and modern sense, including the regions lying to the west of the Bhāgīrathī, thus linking up the western portion of Bengal with its eastern hinterland under the label of one name<sup>1</sup>.

In the records of the Sena period, Vaṅga is again mentioned as a part of Paṇḍravardhana-*bhukti* which as an administrative unit was the largest of the *Bhuktis* to which the province of Bengal was divided in the Pāla and Sena times<sup>2</sup>; being roughly equivalent to the modern Rajshahi, Presidency and Dacca Divisions, and perhaps included even a portion of the Chittagong division<sup>3</sup>. It comprised Koṭivarsa-*viṣaya*<sup>4</sup> and Khādī-*viṣaya*<sup>5</sup>; two countries Varendra<sup>6</sup> and Vaṅga<sup>7</sup>; and the following *Maṇḍalas*: Nānya-*maṇḍala*<sup>8</sup> Adhahpattana-*maṇḍala*<sup>9</sup>. Vyāghrataṭī-*maṇḍala*<sup>10</sup> and Samataṭa-

<sup>1</sup> For the various divisions of Bengal of early times see AR. XV.pp. 145-46; HAIB, p. 100, fn. 3.

<sup>2</sup> Inscriptions of Bengal, p. 3—The Rampal grant of Śricandra (EI. XII, 136-42).

<sup>3</sup> JRAS. 1935, pp. 73 ff; DUHB, p. 24.

<sup>4</sup> EI. XIV. 324-33. As a *Viṣaya* of the *Bhukti* in question it is also mentioned in the Amgachi grant of Vīgrahapāladeva (EI. XV. 295-301), and in the Manahali grant of Madanapāla (Gauda-lekhamālā, pp. 147-58). The *Viṣaya* consisted of the following *Maṇḍalas*:— Gokallikā, Brahmanī-grāma, and Halāvarta. The head-quarters of the *Viṣaya* was located at Diw-kot i. e. Devakoṭa (DUHB, p. 25). Also see HAIB, p. 106-7.

<sup>5</sup> EI. XV. 278-86. The *Viṣaya* was equivalent to the area round the Khādī-parganā of the Diamond Harbour (DUHB, p. 25). Dr. H. C. Ray Chaudhury adds some other names in the list of the *Viṣayas* of the Puṇḍravardhana-*Bhukti*. They are— Sthālīkkāṭa, Kuddālakṣhata, Khediravallī, Ikkadāsi and Satāṭa-Padmavāṭī (Ibid, 24-25).

<sup>6</sup> Tarpaṇadīghi Grant of Lakṣmaṇasena (Ins. of Bengal, pp. 99-105). The reading is Varedya which is perhaps a mistake for Varendra. In the Madhai nager Grant of the same monarch (Ibid. 106-115) Varendrī is included in Puṇḍravardhana-*bhukti*. Cf. Silmpur inscription (EI. XIII. 283 ff).

<sup>7</sup> Paṇḍravardhana-*Bhuktyantahpūti-Vaṅge* (Ins. of Bengal, pp. 118-131, 132-134 and 144-45).

<sup>8</sup> Rampal Grant of Śricandra (EI. XII. 136-42).

<sup>9</sup> Belava Copper-plate of Bhojavarman (Ibid. 37-43).

<sup>10</sup> Khalimpur Grant of Dharmapāla (Gaudalekhamālā, pp. 9 ff). Usually *Maṇḍala* is a sub-division of a *Viṣaya* but in the above grant Mahantāprakāśa-*viṣaya* is treated as a sub-division of the *Maṇḍala* in question. In the Anulla Grant of Lakṣmaṇasena (Ins. of Bengal, pp. 81-91) Vyāghrataṭī is included in the Puṇḍra *Bhukti*, but there it is not stated whether Vyāghrataṭī was a *Maṇḍala* or a *Viṣaya* (See also DUHB, p. 23-24). For Vyāghrataṭī and Vāgaḍī see HAIB, pp. 97-101,

*maṇḍala*<sup>1</sup>. From the political and administrative point of view the *Bhukti* thus stood for a wide tract of country far in excess of the geographical limits of Paṇḍravardhana. In some mediaeval manuscripts, the name Paṇḍra-deśa is again employed as the designation of practically the whole of Eastern India which geographically speaking carries no meaning. Thus it is written<sup>2</sup> that Puṇḍra consisted of Gaur, Varendra, Nivritti, Sumbha, Nārikhaṇḍa (mistake for Jhārikhaṇḍa, Santal Parganas), Varāha-bhūmi (Birbhum), Varddhamāna<sup>3</sup> and Vindhya-Pārsva. A similar account of the country occurs in the lexicon of Puruṣottamadeva : *Madhyadeśoṭha-Puṇḍrāḥsyur varendrī-Gauḍa-Nivṛti*.<sup>4</sup>

The Paṇḍras appear as a people of the Eastern Division (No. 25). In the *Aitāreya Brāhmaṇa*,<sup>5</sup> they are grouped with the Pulindas as *dasyus* who lived beyond the pale of Aryan culture. The Epic and Purāṇic traditions combined the Puṇḍras with the people of the

1 Bhāratavarṣa, *Āśāḍa*, 1348, B.S., p. 87 fn. DUHB, p. 29.

2 IA. XX. 419. In the '*Deśavali-Vivṛti*' (Des. Cat. of Sans. Ms. Govt. collection, on History and Geography, p. 63), the same description occurs. Also see JASB. 1897, Pt. 1. pp. 85-112.

3 Of Vardhamāna it is said that the country was highly populous and that the people were pious and diligent. The chief cities were Hāṭaka, Vllwapattan and Sāmantapattan (IA. XX. 421). Vardhamāna was a name of considerable antiquity (P. C. Sen, IHQ, VIII, 531-32), and is mentioned in the list of this Division (No. 33). In the Pāla and Sena periods it figured as the name of a famous *Bhukti*, but the Mallasārul plate (6th century) of Vijayasena (EI. XXIII. 157) which refers to the Vakkattaka-vīthī (Cf. Svalpadakṣiṇa-vīthī; the former was situated along the northern bank of the Damodar river and the latter lay along the Bhāgīrathī in the north-east corner of the Burdwan division, Ibid. 158-159) of the Vardhamāna-bhukti, suggests that Vardhamāna existed as an administrative division long before the time of the Pālas. The Irda plate (10th century) of the Kamboja king Nayapāladeva refers to the inclusion of Daṇḍabhukti-maṇḍala in the Vardhamāna-bhukti (EI. XXII. 155, lines 20-21), and the Naihati Grant of Ballālasena (Ins. of Beng. pp. 67-80) records the inclusion of Uttara Rādhā maṇḍala within Vardhamāna-bhukti. Daṇḍa-bhukti is perhaps the same as Tanda-butti of the Tirumalai inscription (for Daṇḍa-bhukti and Daṇḍa-butti see HAIB, p. 73, and 43-44) mentioned between Kośalai-nāḍu and Takkanalāḍam, i. e. Dakṣiṇa Rādhā. So Uttara Rādhā and Daṇḍa Bhukti-maṇḍala of the Vardhamāna-bhukti indicate that by the twelfth century the Vardhamāna-bhukti comprehended the entire region to the west of the Bhāgīrathī (see also DUHB, pp. 26-28). The name Vardhamāna occurs in the *Kāthā-S-Sāgara* (I, p. 194, 207). Various cities of this name seem to have existed (HAIB, p. 60 fn. 4).

4 TKS, p. 31.

5 vii, 18; *Śāṅkh-Sr-Sūtra*, xv. 26.

east. In the *Mahābhārata*, the name occurs in various forms such as *Paundraka*, *Paundrika*, *Puṇḍraka*, *Paundra* and *Puṇḍra*, but a close scrutiny of all such references indicates that they were only variants or equivalents of the same name and that no distinction was made<sup>1</sup>. *Baudhāyana* states that *Puṇḍra*, *Vaṅga* and *Kaliṅga* were impure countries<sup>2</sup>. This allusion suggests the inference, that these three names were linked together as people closely allied on racial grounds, as well as by contiguity of geographical position. The conjecture receives support from a *Purāṇic* tradition which groups *Puṇḍra* along with *Aṅga*, *Vaṅga*, *Kaliṅga* and *Suhma*, the name of the five sons of *Bali*, each of whom established a kingdom after his own name. *Patañjali* in his *Mahābhāṣya* (2nd century B. C.) makes a similar reference to the ethnic association of the *Puṇḍras*<sup>3</sup>.

The geographical indications we get from some passages in the epic tend to show that the *Puṇḍras*<sup>4</sup> of the old texts cannot always

<sup>1</sup> According to some scholars 'Pundra' and 'Paundra' implied a distinction, the former denoting North Bengal and the latter a country in the south (CAGI, p. 724; S. Levi, *Pre-Aryan etc*, by P. Bagchi, p. 86; JASB. 1897, p. 101).

<sup>2</sup> I. 2, 14.

<sup>3</sup> IV. 2. 52, Kielhorn's edn, vol. II, p. 282.

<sup>4</sup> Dr. D. R. Bhandarkar informs us that *Pomḍavaddhaniyā* of the *Jaina Kalpasūtra* refers to *Puṇḍravardhana*, the capital of the *Puṇḍras* who lived in the northern part of Bengal as early as the 6th century B. C. *Puṇḍra* (N. Bengal), like *Suhma* was the centre of religious activity of the *Jainas* (ABORI. XII. 104-107). The earliest epigraphic reference to the city of *Puṇḍravardhana* of North Bengal occurs in the *Mauryan Brāhmī* inscription (c. 2nd. cent. B. C.) found in *Mahāsthāna*, 7 miles North of *Bogra* (EI. XXI. 85f). Dr. H. C. Ray Chaudhury draws our attention to *Puṇḍravardhana* of *Sāñohī Stūpa* inscription (DUHB, p. 29). Similarly the city of *Puṇḍravardhana* of *Divyāvadāna* (JRAS., 1904, p. 83 ff. Cf. SBE. XXII. 288), and the city of *Paundravardhana* and *Paundra-deśa* of the *Kathā-S-Sāgara* (KSSR, I, p. 187, 141, 196) refer to Northern Bengal and its ancient city. *Puṇḍravardhana* is mentioned in the accounts of *Hiuen Tsang* as *Pun-na-fa-tan-na*. In a *Buddhist* chronicle the *Ārya-mañjuśrī-mūla-kalpa* (p. 634, v. 11) the same place is referred to, as also in the *Rājatarāṅginī* (IV. 421). The *Bhukti* of *Puṇḍravardhana* of the *Gupta* times was roughly equivalent to the whole of North Bengal; in the *Paṭa* and *Sena* periods the *Bhukti* of this name comprehended a wider area almost equivalent to the whole of Bengal. But a place of the name of *Paundra* in which there was a city not far from the sea, as mentioned in the *Kathā-S-Sāgara* (KSSR, II, p. 285), perhaps does not stand for the famous country of this name of North Bengal.

be connected with Puṇḍra or Puṇḍravardhana-bhukti of N. Bengal<sup>1</sup>. In the *Arthaśāstra* mention is made of the product called Pauṇḍrika along with those called Māgadhiḥ<sup>2</sup>. The *Agni Purāṇa* refers to a Pauṇḍra country of the South-East<sup>3</sup>. The Buddhist chronicle the *Ārya mañjuśrī-mūlakalpa* combines the Puṇḍras and Oḍras in a single appellation : *Pauṇḍrodrāḥ*<sup>4</sup>.

The Puṇḍras, linked as they are with these people, cannot be located in North Bengal. From the context it is clear that they lived somewhere to the west or south-east of Vaṅga as neighbours of the Magadhas and also of the Oḍras or any other such people. Pargiter says "that the Puṇḍras had the Kāśis on their north, the Aṅgas, Vaṅgas and Suhmas on their north-east and east and the Oḍras on their south-east ; hence their territory corresponded to the modern Chota-Nagpur with the exception of its southern portions."<sup>5</sup> The validity of the hypothesis is proved by the data recorded above. Dr. B. C. Sen writes : "From their home in Chota-Nagpur they moved in the direction of the north-east to North Bengal."<sup>6</sup>

## 29. AMBAṢṬHAS

The context suggests that they were living near the Maikala range and in many texts they are combined with the Mekalas in a single appellation. People of this name existed as early as the time of the *Aitareya Brāhmaṇa*.<sup>7</sup> The Gautama *Dharma sūtra* refers to their mixed origin,<sup>8</sup> and according to Purāṇic tradition they were the

1 Some of the passages of the *Mahābhārata* containing the name in its many forms run thus ;—

"Savaṅgāṅgān sa Pauṇḍrodrān" (iii. 51. 22). "Aṅgā Vaṅgāśca Puṇḍrāśca Śānavatyā gayāstathā" (ii. 52. 16) ; "Vaṅgāḥ Kalingā Magadhā stāmraliptāḥ sapuṇḍrakāḥ" (ii. 52. 18) ; "Utkalā Mekalāḥ Pauṇḍrāḥ Kalingāndhrāśca" (vi. 4. 8).

See also i. 113. 29 ; ii. 34. 11 ; ii. 4. 29. Cf. *Viṣṇu Purāṇa*, iv. 28. 18 and HV, III. 46. 56.

The *Rāmāyana* has a similar reference to the position of the Puṇḍras :  
*Māgadhamśca mahāgrāmān Puṇḍrāmśtavāṅgāmśtathai vaca*" (iv. 40. 23) ;  
*"Tathai vāndhrāmśca Puṇḍrāmśca colān"* (iv. 41. 12).

2 AS, p. 82. Cf. Mbh (B), vii. 9. 15 ; *Karūṣāmśca Pauṇḍrāmśca*.

3 IHQ. IX. 475.

4 AMKLP, p. 275, v. 7.

5 MP, p. 329.

6 HAIB, pp. 130-131 ; see also JAHRS. X. 109. For PAUṆDRAS (No. 25) see above ; UTKALAS (No. 26) Supra pp. 75-76 ; KĀŚIS (No. 27) Supra pp. 60 ff ; MEKALAS (No. 28) Supra pp. 75-76.

7 viii. 21-23 ; Ved. Ind., I. 59-60 ; Cf. Pāṇini, IV. 1. 171.

8 iv. 16.

same as the *Ānava kṣatriyas*.<sup>1</sup> From a *Jātaka* story we learn that they were farmers<sup>2</sup> and Manu writes<sup>3</sup> that the people practised the art of healing and followed trade and husbandry. Some scholars think that they were at first Brahmans but became degraded later on.

The Greek writers refer to a people called Abastoni who settled on the lower Akesines.<sup>4</sup> They are perhaps the same as the Ambaṣṭhas of the *Aitareya Brāhmaṇa* and the Ambaṣṭhas of the *Mahābhārata* in which texts they appear as a Punjab tribe. In the *Bārhaspatya Arthaśāstra*, the name is mentioned between Kaśmīra and Saindhava,<sup>5</sup> the latter representing the Salt Range of the Punjab.<sup>6</sup>

### 35. MUDGARAS

The name is to be connected with the famous Mudgagiri which was the victorious camp of the Pāla king Devapāladeva from where he issued the Nalanda Copper-plate Grant : *Śrī-Mudgagiri-samāvāsita-Śrīmajjaya-Skandhāvāra*.<sup>7</sup> The king's Mungir Grant was also issued from the same place.<sup>8</sup> Mudgagiri is considered identical with the modern Mungir on the Ganges in Behar. A Pratihāra inscription<sup>9</sup> states that at Mudgagiri a battle took place between the Gauḍas and the Pratihāra prince Kakka. In the *Mahābhārata* mention is made of Modāgiri kingdom of the east, and in all these the locality indicated is Mungir. Yādavaprakāśa identifies Mudgaraka with Kuja,<sup>9</sup>

### 36. ANTARGIRYAS

This and the name following the Vahirgiryas (No. 37) are conjoined together and placed in proximity to the Aṅgas in a

1 AIHT, p. 109. Cf. Mbh., vi. 20. 10 ; Ye *cūmvaṣṭhāḥ Kṣatriyā*.

2 No. 495, Oj, IV. p. 229.

3 x. 47.

4 MI, p. 252 and 155 ; MM, p. 153 ; MT, p. 160.

5 Cf. *Kāśmīrahūnāmbaṣṭhasaindhavaḥ* (ed. by F. W. Thomas, op. cit. Intro., p. 8 and 21, *Sūtra* No. 103).

6 For the Ambaṣṭhas in Southern India, See Dr. ID. C. Sircar in *Prabāsi, Āśāḍa*, 1351 B. S. pp. 206-209. The EKAPADAS (No. 30) were a fabulous people. For TĀMRALIPTIKAS (No. 31) see Supra p. 160; KOSĀLAKAS (No. 32) Supra pp. 61 ff., VARDHAMĀNA (No. 33) Supra p. 189 fn. 3; and for the ANDHRAS (No. 34) see the author's article on the 'Andhras' in *JAHS. XVIII* (Pts. 1, 2, 3 & 4, July 1947 to April 1928), pp. 111-114.

7 EI. XVII. 310 ff.

8 EI. XVIII. 305-6, line 27.

9 Ibid. 98. vs. 24.

passage of the *Mahābhārata*.<sup>1</sup> In the texts under review they appear exactly in the same bearing which may offer a clue to their location in the Rajmahal hills which lay striking along the south-eastern border of the Aṅga country. The two names are mentioned here in obvious contra-distinction : the Antargiryas may be indentified with the people living in the interior of the Rajmahal hills, and the Vahirgiryas with those living on the outskirts—perhaps some aboriginals of the Santal Paiganas and Hazaribagh. But in another passage of the *Mahābhārata* <sup>2</sup>, Antargiri and Vahirgiri are placed in the northern region to the north of Prāgjyotiṣa in which case the locality indicated is northern Assam. Dr. B. C. Law says that these countries comprised the lower slopes of the Himalayas and the Nepal Farai.<sup>3</sup> Dr. Agrawala equates Antargiri with the Mahāhimavant of the Pāli texts as representing the central and the heart of the Himalayan system including the highest peaks, such as Gauriśaṅkar, Nandādevī, Kedāranātha etc., and Upagiri with the sub-Himalayan region of low-lying peaks.<sup>4</sup>

#### 41. MĀLAVĀRTTIKAS

The name is a corruption of *Malla-parvatikas* or dwellers of *Malla-parvata* which is identified with the Parasnath hills of Chota-Nagpur. The hill was obviously connected with the Mallas, the famous non-monarchical people of the Buddhist literature, who occupied a small tract of country roughly corresponding to the modern Gorakhpur district, having the Kośalas to their west. The Great Epic refers to Dakṣiṇa Malla<sup>5</sup>, which may stand for the Mallas of Parasnath hills. The word '*Malla-porasya*' of the Nālandā inscription<sup>6</sup> is an incorrect derivative of Mallapura, that is, the city of the Mallas.

#### 42. BRAHMOTTARAS

In the *Matsya Purāṇa*, Brahmottara is mentioned along with Vaṅga and Tāmralipta as one of the countries through which the river Ganges flowed<sup>7</sup>. The name occurs in the *Kāvyamīmāṃsā* in the list of eastern countries as noted in the chart. A Brahma

<sup>1</sup> vi. 9. 49-50.

<sup>2</sup> ii. 27. 2-3.

<sup>3</sup> TAI. p. 285. <sup>4</sup> IEQ. XXIX, 5. For the VAHIRGIRYAS (No. 37), AṅGAS (No. 38), and VAṅGAS (No. 39) see above. For MALADAS (No. 40) see supra p. 38-

<sup>5</sup> ii. 30. 12.

<sup>6</sup> EI, XXV. 335.

<sup>7</sup> ch. 121. 50-1.

country is known to us from other sources<sup>1</sup> besides the work of Rājāśekhara. Alberuni also gives notice of a country called Brahmittara<sup>2</sup>. According to another view, Brahma was really the name of a *Janapada* or *deśa* in Rāḍhā and that the Suhmas and Brahmas formed an ethnic group<sup>3</sup>. A more definite evidence is obtained in the *Ain-i-Akbari* where Barmhottara is mentioned as one of the *mahals* of Satgaon in western Bengal<sup>4</sup>. The Brahmittaras presumably lived in Satgaon in the valley of the Bhāgīrathī, but Brahma of *Pavanadūta* is regarded as a variant of Suhma<sup>5</sup>.

#### 44. JÑEYAMARTHAKAS

This seems to be a corruption of the Jñātrkas, the clan of Mahāvīra, the *Jina*. The Jñātrkas along with the Licchavis and the Videhas formed one of the constituents of the confederate clans (aṭṭhakula) of the Vajjis. Just on the suburbs of Vesālī<sup>6</sup> there was Kuṇḍagrāma which was the seat of the warrior-clan called the Jñātrkas<sup>7</sup>.

#### 46. GOMANTAS

The identity of the people is uncertain. In the *Mahābhārata* we read of a mountain called Goratha from which a view could be obtained of the capital city of Magadha. It was evidently one of the hills which lay near Girivraja. The mountain is described as abounding in cows : *Gomantaṁ śubha drumam*. The identification of Goratha hill with the Barbar hill was suggested by Jackson<sup>8</sup>. The Goratha hill is now called the *Bāthāni-kā-Pāhād*, five or six miles to the west of Rajgir<sup>9</sup>.

<sup>1</sup> JASB. 1873, p. 224.

<sup>2</sup> AI. I. 262

<sup>3</sup> IHQ. VIII. 524-27.

<sup>4</sup> AIA. II. p. 141.

<sup>5</sup> DUHB, p. 33. The next name PRAVIJAYAS (No. 43) may refer to the people of Jyntea in Assam (DD, pp. 159-160), but this is not supported by any convincing evidence.

<sup>6</sup> This is perhaps mentioned in the *Rāmāyaṇa* as Viśālā (i. 4. 5 & 10). A city called Viśālā is also referred to in the *Kathā-S-Sāgara* (KSSR, II. p. 342. 412) in which fortune and learning dwelt. In the late Buddhist chronicle the *Ārya-mañjuśrī-mūla-kalpā*, we have reference to Vaiśālī (AMKLP. p. 88. v. 10).

<sup>7</sup> For other notices about them see TAI, p. 243. For the MALLAS (No. 45) see above.

<sup>8</sup> JBORS. I, p. 159 f.

<sup>9</sup> DD, p. 67. The BHĀRGAVAS (No. 47) may refer to the people of western Assam, the country of the Bhars (DD, p. 32). For the MADRAS (No. 48) see supra p. 115 ff.

## CHAPTER VIII

### CONCLUDING REMARKS

All the ethnic settlements and country names have now been considered and the resulting geographical setting has been marked out in the preceding pages. Here an attempt may be made, to add thereto, all other particulars to be gathered from tradition, and to sketch in outline the course of geography which all that information suggest. This is offered here. It may be necessary in this connection to repeat a good deal of what has been narrated, and so this critical sketch should be read with the geographical exposition made in earlier chapters.

Definitely later than the Vedic and Brahmanical tradition is the geographical tradition recorded in the Purāṇas. The geographical area recognised in the Purāṇas is admittedly large, larger than any such area known to, and described in, any other ancient Sanskrit text. In the period of the Vedas the centre of civilisation was tending to be localised in what is called Brahmāvarta, but in the age that followed, localisation of civilization in countries definitely more eastern, is noticeable. In the time represented by the Purāṇas geographical knowledge further extended, and the remotest and the most obscure portions of this vast country came within the pale of knowledge and civilisation. The different peoples and races of India and their settlements point to many centres of civilisation, which sprang up in the distant and retarded regions of the country. The distribution of tribes over all these regions again, unmistakably throw much light on many features of Indian geography not known from any other text. Altogether, ethnic settlements as recorded in the Purāṇas and astronomical works, mark a definite advance in the geographical knowledge of India and its outlying frontiers, and throw much light on the subject of many human groups and their geographical setting beyond India.

The remotest peoples of eastern and southern India, and the late invaders of the north-west alike claimed a place in the ethnographical lists. Farthest north, we have perhaps a reference to the people of Khasgarh and Chinese Turkistan, and farthest north-west, to the people of Samarkand and Bokhara, and on the west to the people of Persia. On the south, south-west and south-east, Ceylon, Maldiva and Nicobar Islands



respectively are clearly noticed.<sup>1</sup> This at any rate comprises a distinctly wider horizon, and within these limits again, traditions show a very thorough and intensive acquaintance with minor geographical details. Thus mention is made of many towns and definite localities such as Takṣaśilā, Ujjihāna, Puṣkalāvati, Māthura, Śāketa, Tāmralipta, Danturaka, Chandrapura, Bharukaccha, Ruddhakāṭaka and Sairindha. We also read of Kollagiri, Maruṭpattana, Baladevapattana in the list of the Southern Division. Definite knowledge of these localities must have been current, and so these are some clear signs both of more developed city life and of more settled habits.

Some very noteworthy features are, however, manifest from a scrutiny of the distribution of these tribes and peoples. It seems that the geographical knowledge of the far north and north-west was more extensive and elaborate than such knowledge of the Punjab, for as already noted, the number of races and peoples who were found to have settled in the basins of Kabul, Helmand and Oxus was pretty large. The natives of those regions with the exception of the Gandhāras and Bālīhikas were mostly new, and were not known to any ancient tradition. That shows how with the consolidation of political forces, Kabul and the Oxus valley to the west of the Indus—being the central link between Asia Minor and India—were increasingly growing in political importance, and consequently became the seat of many new human groups not known to the geography of the earlier period.

But the Punjab definitely recedes in importance at the hands of the compilers; and all those tribes—not many in number—who on examination are found to have inhabited the Punjab, turn out mostly to be new names, who either replaced the old ones or carved out new habitats under the impact of superior political forces. Even Pañcanada a later name coined for the Punjab occurs in the list. Except in very few cases such as the Gandhāras, Trigartas, Madras, Kaikeyas, Śivis and Pauravas we miss all traces of old peoples known to Vedic tradition, in a list of ninety-one tribal and country names (Northern Division) of the Punjab and the neighbouring regions. This fact is, however, very striking: it is this, that there is no adequate evidence in the geographical texts under review to

<sup>1</sup> This observation is made on the basis of a work on the Geography of ancient ethnic settlements on Southern India completed by the author on similar lines.

prove that the Punjab was the home of many ruling races ; tradition has not preserved the memory of the existence of many ancient peoples, of Vedic antiquity there. And with the exception of the Śivis, Madras and Kaikeyas and some others already mentioned, among all those tribes who had settled in the Indus basin in the time represented by the Purāṇas and astronomical works, there are obviously not many who were known to the Vedic texts. This observation also holds good with regard to the ethnic establishments of the Iran plateau. With the exception of one or two, the geographical lists of the north and north-west do not furnish any ancient name of that region. This when contrasted with the position of the Mid-land which was the home of many peoples of sacred memories having Vedic connections, favours the contention of Pargiter based on his study of Ancient Indian Historical Tradition, that "Indian tradition knows nothing of any Aila or Aryan invasion of India from Afghanistan nor of any gradual advance from thence eastwards".<sup>1</sup> The bearing of the ethnographical tradition on the North-West Frontier and the Punjab (cf. the Vāhikas who were held in disrepute) also would not lend support to the theory of any invasion from that quarter.

Ethnic settlements in the country to the south of the Punjab i. e. Rajputana and Malwa seem to have taken place at a later age, although, the area as a whole probably did not lie outside all early geographical traditions. Dr. H. C. Ray Chaudhury suggests that the desert of Rajputana may have been known to the R̥gvedic writers as Dhanvan<sup>2</sup>. And in the period of the Yajus, Atharva Saṁhitas, and the earlier Brāhmaṇas we hear of tribes like the Kuntis and the Vitahavyas settling there<sup>3</sup>. The more well-known peoples of that region were the Śālvās and the Matsyas, the latter being mentioned even in the R̥gveda. The Matsya king Dhvasan Dvaitavana mentioned in the Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa may have given his name to the lake and forest called Dvaitavana, which according to the Epic writers were situated in or near about the Matsya country. But the Śivi janapada of Madhyamika may not have emerged into existence earlier than the second century B. C., and indeed most of the ethnic groups of the Central Division who after due scrutiny have been assigned to the Rajputana-Malwa region have hardly any

<sup>1</sup> AIHT, p. 298.

<sup>2</sup> Dr. H. C. Ray Chaudhury in Cal. Rev., Oct. 1926, p. 127.

<sup>3</sup> Ibid.

ancient tradition dating back to the period of the Vedas and the Brāhmaṇas. With the exception of the Śālvās and the Matsyas, all others, namely, the Arimedhas, Marus, Kukuras, Avantīs and Vṛkas of the Central Division, and the Kṣudramīnas, Āgnīdhra and Mālavas etc. of the Northern Division (but belonging to the Rajputana-Malwa region). have hardly any ancient feature, and are distinctly later in origin. Though later tribes such as the Prārjunas, Sanakānikas, Kākas and Kharaparikas who appear in the Allahabad inscription of Samudragupta are not mentioned in the texts under review, yet geographical traditions in general of that area as reflected through the distribution of tribes, appear to have taken shape in the post-Brāhmaṇa age. Some of the tribes might have been the forerunners of the Rajputs who later on played a great part in the mediaeval history of India. But on the whole, ethnographical geography of this section of India, though not quite old, was complete in its details. Small and specific localities have not been neglected.

It is with regard to the central region or the entire Gangetic valley that we have perhaps a very full and authentic account of ancient ethnic settlements. The distribution of tribes shows how Aryan occupation of the Gangetic basin i. e. the Mid-Indian region from the Himalayas to the Vindhya which was traditionally called Madhya-deśa was completed : items of geographical information as contained in the texts reviewed, are found to be genuine piece of ancient tradition and not mostly new as has been noticed with regard to the Punjab. Of the names of the Central Division of our list which are assigned to the basins of the Ganges and the Yamunā, some are old peoples already familiar to us through Vedic and Post-Vedic literature. Ancient names like Kuru-Pañcāla, Kāśī-Kośala, Śālva-Matsya and Vatsa are mentioned in accordance with the conventional notions of the past, but the accounts have been obviously made up to date by the incorporation of small and specific localities such as the Ujjihāna, Sāketa and Kāpiṣṭhala, and far more, by the inclusion of new names belonging to a later age such as the Bhadrās, Uddehikas, Guḍas, Kaṅkas, Kālakotīs and Kulyas. In fact, the texts of ethnographical geography of this region have a great merit in that though old, they have not neglected much that was new. Full and adequate notice has been taken of the existence of many new peoples, who had by that time crowded the fertile valleys of the Ganges, and old traditional knowledge has not been allowed to tamper or to suppress new facts of human establishments.

But in the eastern division, in Bengal and Assam, the attempt to uphold the traditional order has led to the neglect of some geographical features which though relatively new were widely current. Such names as Kāmarūpa, Varendra, Raḍbā, Harikela, Candradvīpa, which we miss in the list, were undoubted omissions ; and if these omissions were not due to a desire to conform to the conventional and classical order, they must have been due to defects in knowledge. But it may not be attributable to any defect in knowledge as the Karvaṭas, Cāndrapuras, Mudgaras, Antargiryas, Vāhīrgiryas, Mālavarttikas, Brahmottaras, Pravijayas and Bhārgavas (see chart) are not more ancient names, if not distinctly later in origin, than Kāmarūpa, Varendra etc. And as the latter set of names such as Kāmarūpa, Varendra, Harikela and Candradvīpa were famous, and undoubtedly very viable social groups, their omission from the list can only be interpreted as merely conventional. The chronological argument, namely, that the original *Bhuvanakośa* may have been compiled earlier than the emergence of these geographical names, also, cannot explain the incorporation of many unknown or less known geographical names of a later age as mentioned above, to the exclusion of the more famous ones, all of which were current perhaps in about the same age. This is an instance of the conventional notions of ancient writers.

But the most numerous were the settlements between the rivers Jumna and Krishna, and the tribes which have been distributed in that region are a pretty good number, which indicates that the habitats in that area must have been very heavy and population dense. Indeed, the accounts of this region leave this impression that the geographical knowledge of this part was full and complete in all its details. The large number of human groups distributed over the whole area consist of many old peoples, whose settlements existed there, and many new ones which sprang up later on ; and it is this incorporation of much of the elements of later geography along with the old that has resulted in a detailed survey. Here, the accounts have not followed a strictly orthodox line by eliminating much that was new, nor have they departed from their conventional order by neglecting old features. So, along with Avanti, Vidarbha, Vidiśā, Āsmaka, and Daśārṇa, mention is made of principalities which were relatively new such as Mahārāṣṭra, Kuntala, Karṇāṭa and Koṅkaṇa etc. Small and specific localities bearing a definite geographical sense are also not omitted.

On a review of the whole geographical system as outlined, it becomes clear that the outlook of ancient Indian geographers was

mainly conventional, although at times they have shown almost surprising acquaintance with many modern features not originally incorporated in the traditional order. This has led to curious results. One stratum of information is definitely old and the other modern. This discrepancy between old and new strata of information has its basis in the nature of the Purāṇas. The point about it is that, uncertain chronology of traditional texts makes it impossible to assign the geographical data to any particular period. The texts, for instance, refer to some very distinctly modern names such as Kailāvata, Kaṇṭhādhāna, Kālakuṭa, Mudgara, Ruddhakaṭaka, Kaṭakasthala, Brahmottara, but very often give definite glimpses into the geographical ideas of a remote past, when Aryan civilisation had not yet overstepped the Vindhya. And in many cases, the force of earlier tradition has been considerably weakened by embedded borrowings from later deposits. Necessarily, we are left in doubt whether we have in these texts a faithful picture of the geographical features of a later age, or a collection of a more or less quasi-historical names which are echoes from the Aryan lore of the early Vedic age.

Another peculiarity about these names is that the compilers in some cases have shown a preference for the ancient rather than the modern name of a particular place that was in actual use. This is an attitude which may be described as 'conventional'. Thus mention is made of Prāgjyotiṣa which stood for Assam, but not of Kām rūpa another name of Assam, and known as such in the time of Samudragupta. Similarly, we get the names of Puṇḍra and Suhma, but not of Rāḍhā and Varendra. The use of the name of Videha is probably another instance. The Licchavis are the most outstanding of the constituent clans forming the Vajji federation; they appear and reappear on the stage of Indian history from the 6th century B. C. to 4th century A. D, and yet they are left out and the Videhas, who also belonged to the federation, are mentioned instead. These are some of the instances of conventional geography, but it will not be quite easy to decide the line between conventional and later geography.

Again, geographical fancies of an earlier age got mixed up with later geographical facts, and this mixture of old and new features has sometimes distorted the main situation and created confusion. The names have been handed down from author to author, and have been allowed to find their way in the texts without any regard to the political vicissitudes in the life of a tribe or its complete extinction. Thus the Pūrus, whose traditions are decidedly earlier, are mentioned and

they possibly lived in the vicinity of the Kuru country. At any rate, they must have been merged into a newer federation and lost their tribal identity, and so ethnographically at least they conveyed no meaning. Similar are the instances of the Vitihotras, Tuṇḍikeras, Nīpas, whose names at a later age did not convey any geographical meaning, but were simply memories of an early past. We have also the examples of the Śālvas and Matsyas who are mentioned, but in a different list we find reference to the Yaudheyas and Ārjunāyanas, who as we have seen, lived within the Matsya country or in the vicinity of it. It is just likely that these peoples whose traditions were decidedly later, incorporated and absorbed the Matsyas and Śālvas and followed them in their country. Here is, therefore, an instance, of how old and new traditions were in conflict with each other, and no clue is found as to how old peoples and tribes passed into oblivion and new tribes arose. Similarly the Vatsas, Madras, Trigartas, Kaikeyas, Śūrasenas, Āśmakas, Śivis and Gandhāras most certainly represent the geographical conditions of a time considerably anterior to the time represented by such names as Anūpa, Daśapura, Purika, Mūlaka, Mahārāṣṭra, Karṇāṭa and Koṅkaṇa etc. The peoples of an earlier age in most cases have been amalgamated by newer powers, in the process of the political and ethnic transformation that was going on.

But it cannot be said that traditional geography was altogether impervious to the changes that were coming upon the old tribal settlements and groupings owing to the impact of new forces. Thus the Bharatas are no longer mentioned ; and we find in the land which they held, the Kurus, and close to them, the Pañcālas. Similarly other Vedic peoples such as the Turvaśas, Anus, Druhyas, Uśīnaras and Śrījāyas disappear from history and are not noticed by tradition which may indicate that they were either amalgamated with other new tribes, or took new shapes under different names. The force of later tradition from a positive point of view is also manifest from the mention of many such names as the Śūlikas and Gaudas, who later on played an important political role. So judged from all these features, geographical traditions of ancient ethnic settlements, as embodied in the Purāṇas and astronomical works, present us with a stage intermediate between the conventional notions of the past, and an intimate acquaintance with the far flung and numerous tribal establishments of a later age.

As the Epic, Purāṇic and Astronomical geography is professedly

concerned with the whole sub-continent, geography of ethnic settlements in ancient India may best be interpreted if we describe in a general way the chief natural divisions of India, and point to their ancient ethnic connections. The distribution of principal races thus sketched will also indicate in broad outline the course of traditional geography.

The eastern frontier of India is buttressed by a chain of ranges running in a general direction from north to south. From this eastern hill frontier, the level land known as Samatāṭa stretched almost due west and embraced the plain of the great river Brahmaputra. The valley of Assam situated between the Garo and Khasi hills on the south, and the Himalayas on the north, was the land of the Pragjyotiṣas. The Pravijayas and the Bhārgavas might have been some primitive hill tribes of the Assam mountains.

The delta of Bengal i. e. the great triangle of land which is enclosed by the Ganges (Padmā) pursuing a south-eastern course from the point where the Bhāgīrathī (Hughli), forming the western line of the delta bifurcates, had a geographical entity quite distinct from other Gangetic provinces. This easternmost Gangetic realm might have been in possession of the Vāṅgas. To their west, on the other side of the Bhāgīrathī, lived the Suhmas and also the Gauḍas whose territories even included the region to the north of the Ganges. To the west of the Gangetic delta, the plain enclosed by the Rajmahal hills on the east and the Son on the west, was the historic land of the famous Magadhas and their eastern neighbours the Aṅgas. The hills and forests of Santal Parganas and the Chota Nagpur Division might have preserved large group of primitive tribes such as the Antargiriyas, Vahirgiriyas and Mallaparvatikas, while the famous republican tribes, such as the Licchavis, Mallas, Videhas and Jñāṭṛikas settled in the country between the Ganges and the Tarai. On the south and south-east, the deltaic Bengal again descends into fertile lowlands along the sea-board of the Bay, and further south merges with the plain of the Mahanadi river—the land of the people variously called Utkalas or Uḍras. To the west of the Uḍras in the eastern portion of the Central Provinces, lived the Dakṣiṇa Kośalas, and to their south, the Kaliṅgas. A portion of Chota Nagpur to the north of Orissa might have been inhabited by the Puṇḍras.

The broad belt of country full of hills and valleys which lies to the west of the Son along the line of the Jumna on the north, opens freely to Rajputana on the west. The peoples inhabiting there in ancient times were the Maladas, Kārūṣas, Pulindas and Chedis.

The wide region which lay to the west of Chedi country, encompassed by the Jumna, Chambal and the Narmada was the land of the Mālavas, Avantis, Vaidīśas and Daśārṇas. The long strip of the Chambal basin was also the home of many other tribes of antiquity. Between the Chambal, which connects the Vindhya with the Jumna, and the Aravalli hills which run across Rajputana diagonally from the south-west to north-east as far as the ridge of Delhi, separating the desert plains of the north-west from the more fertile region of the south-east, there lived the ancient peoples of Rajputana, the different branches of whom were known to ancient writers under a variety of designations such as the Arimedhas, Kṣudramīnas, Mādhyamikas, Śivis, Mālavas, Daśapuras, Vṛkas, Śālvas, Matsyas, Ārjunāyanas, Yaudheyas, Āgnīdhra and Dāśerakas.

West of the Aravalli hills is the great Indian desert of Rajputana or the Thar which extends seaward. Ancient ethnic names such as the Māṇḍavyas, Kukuras and Marubhas are connected with this zone. Beyond the desert, in the basin of the lower Indus, lived the Sindhus; and further up where the five rivers of the Punjab gradually close together to form a single stream, the Sauvīras. Along the whole extent of the Sutlej in Bhawalpur, lived the Śūdras, and to their east in Sirsa the Ābhīras and the Niṣādas. To the south of the Thar, along the coast, runs a strip of alluvial plain which was called Aparānta. The peninsula of Kathiawar, separated from this coast line by the Gulf of Cambay, was the home of the Ānartas and Saurāṣṭras. The island of Cutch, lying between the Runn and Kathiawar was inhabited by the Kacchas.

The vast length of the Narmada valley was dotted with many big and minor settlements. On the south side of the Narmada, the Satpura range runs parallel with the Vindhya. The eastern extremities of the two ranges end in the highlands of the Central Provinces which are associated with the settlements of the Tripuras and Mekalas. The broad alluvial flat between the Tapti and the Narmada rivers was inhabited by the Māhiśakas, Anūpas, Rṣikas and other minor stocks. South of the Tapti begins the Deccan plateau. Between the Tapti and the Godavari, particularly on the western half, lived the Nāsikas, Vaidarbhas, Mūlakas, and also the Āśmakas whose settlements covered even portions to the south of the Godavari. The land between the Godavari and the Krishna was the home of many other historic races such as the Andhras and the Mahāraṣṭras.



In the north, the famous Doab enclosed by the Jumna and by the corresponding portion of the foot-hills of the Himalayas, was the realm of the historic peoples of mid-India, the Kāśī-Kośalas, Kuru-Pañcālas and Vāśa-Uśīnaras. The Jumna basin from the Dehra Dun to Agra was lined with many other minor settlements such as the Guḍas, Kapisthalas, Pāṇḍus and Śūrasenas. To the north of the Doab, the belt of the hill country of Nepal, Sikkim and Bhutan corresponding to the foot-hills of the Himalayas, from the source of the Ganges as far as the frontiers of Assam, was in possession of many primitive tribes : but the Garhwal and Kumaun region was a favourite resort in particular of some ancient peoples such as the Bhadrās, Brahmapuras and Tāmasas. The mountain slopes lying adjacent to the north-west of Garhwal, and intersected by the Sutej and the other tributaries of the Indus were occupied by many Himalayan tribes of antiquity, such as the Sātakas, Kulūtas, Lahulas, Audumbaras, Māṇahalas, Kohalas, Rājanyas, Kunahas etc.

The Himalayas occupy a dominant position in Indian geography and constitute a mighty natural barrier. But the mountain chain was pierced, and connections existed between the highland of Tibet and India, as notice has already been made of many mountain tribes such as the Kaṅkas, Kulindas, Khasās, Taṅganas who obviously lived in the Nari-Khorsum province of Tibet. Numerous tribes also lived in the deep valleys and passes leading to the north as is indicated by references to the *patha* countries.

In the west the Himalayan range is carried on by the Hindu Kush into the crest of the Iranian plateau. Persia, Afghanistan and Baluchistan collectively called the plateau of Iran, which reaches out on the north-east to the lofty Pamirs was inhabited in ancient times by an Indian population for many centuries after, as well as before, the invasion of Alexander. The Greek writers refer to the existence of the Indians in the Greek satrapies. Hiuen Tsang's descriptions clearly show how Buddhism was established throughout the whole extent of the frontier regions. At the end of the 7th century the Muhammadans found idolaters at Kabul. It has been seen, that Indian traditions as embodied in the geographical data of the Purāṇas and the *Bṛhat-saṃhitā*, know of a number of ethnic settlements of those regions. Such names as Jaguḍas, Kaṇṭhadhānas, Yaśovati, Vokkāṇas, Jṛṅgas and Kuruminas bear clear traces of Sanskrit names and refer to some ancient settlements in Kabul-

Kandahar and other western regions which indicate that in the early past the Iran plateau remained Indian in civilization down to the Muhammadan conquest<sup>1</sup> and was in consequence included within the geographical boundaries of India.<sup>2</sup> Further, the ethnographic tradition of the country to the north of the Iran plateau already sketched, strengthens the assumption that the basins of the Oxus and the Jaxartes were not excluded from the geographical system of ancient India.

To the east of the Iran plateau lies the plain of the Indus. Its northernmost part are the valleys of Gilgit and Chitral, where India merges with Iran and Turan. Here lived the Daradas, in whose country mountains were of surpassing height. Indeed, the mountains of Yasin and Chitral, which lie in the shape of an angle, appear like a "roof sheltering all India."<sup>3</sup> The valleys diverge south-eastwards in the upper reaches of the Indus in Kohistan and Hazara where lived the Kuhakas, Dārvas and Abhisāras. To the west of the upper stream of the Indus in the Swat basin were found many other peoples such as the Aśmakas, Guruhas, Arimarddanas and Ūrṇas, while to the east of Hazara in the Kasmir valley lived the Kāśmīras. Lower down Kasmir, lay the Indus valley with its five rivers called the Punjab and the Frontier Provinces which were covered with innumerable tribal principalities, as it was the country which every incoming stream of migration must have traversed. The more famous of the ancient peoples who lived in that river-plain were the Kaikeyas, Madras, Gandhāras, Śivis, Mālavas, Kṣudrakas, Vasātis and Trigartas.

This is in main the geographical background of ancient ethnic settlement of northern India. Details about the activities of such human groups of ancient India can never be seen as clearly as necessary for a thorough study of the subject, but such activities must have been regulated by, and influenced, certain developments inevitable in the process. Firstly, it is necessary to remember that the settlements in ancient India were not a simple unitary process which was completed at one particular period. It was carried over several broad periods of time from the Vedic times onwards. Secondly, such settlements certainly led to modifications of geogra-

1 CH. I. 326-27.

2 Sir Thomas Holdich writes "Hindustan, to the medieval Arab, commenced at the Hindukush, and Kabul and Ghazni were 'Indian' frontier towns ...." (Gates of India, p. 226).

physical environments, and was indicative of the cultural and economic needs of that particular group of Indians. Purely wandering herdsmen, like the Paśupālas or Ghoṣas perhaps led a life of continual movement, but agriculturists like the Vaṅgas and Magadhas needed arable lands which led them to prefer fixed settlements. Hence social and economic groupings, based upon the requirements of agriculture, necessarily conformed to the conditions of physical geography and of natural vegetation. This feature namely, how the needs of an agricultural tribe were negotiated to the conditions of the soil, must have been the main factor that governed the course of human geography of ancient India. The varied types of settlements, their distribution, the sites selected through careful consideration—all these aspects of settlement are of outstanding geographical interest.

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20	6 of fn. 2.	equatation	equation
29	fn. 2.	Saradatta	Śaradaṇḍa
32	8	abundant	abundantly
44	14	Junagad	Junagadh
49	last line	Paṭṭhānikas	Paṭṭhānakas
		Petenikas	Petenikas
62	fn. 10.	Rāmagrāma	Rāmagāma
85	5 of fn. 1.	to	by
91	5 of fn. 5.	After 'right'	insert 'bank'
96	4	of	to
100	16	in	to
113	27	Tārānath	Tārānath and <del>delete</del> Comma after 'place' insert 'to'
124	13	After 'or'	insert 'to'
126	12	to	with and <del>delete</del> 'and'
136	5 of fn.	caveran	cavern
139	No. 8	Ladaḍas	Labaḍas
162	22	refers the	refers to the
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